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The WORKS of VOLTAIRE

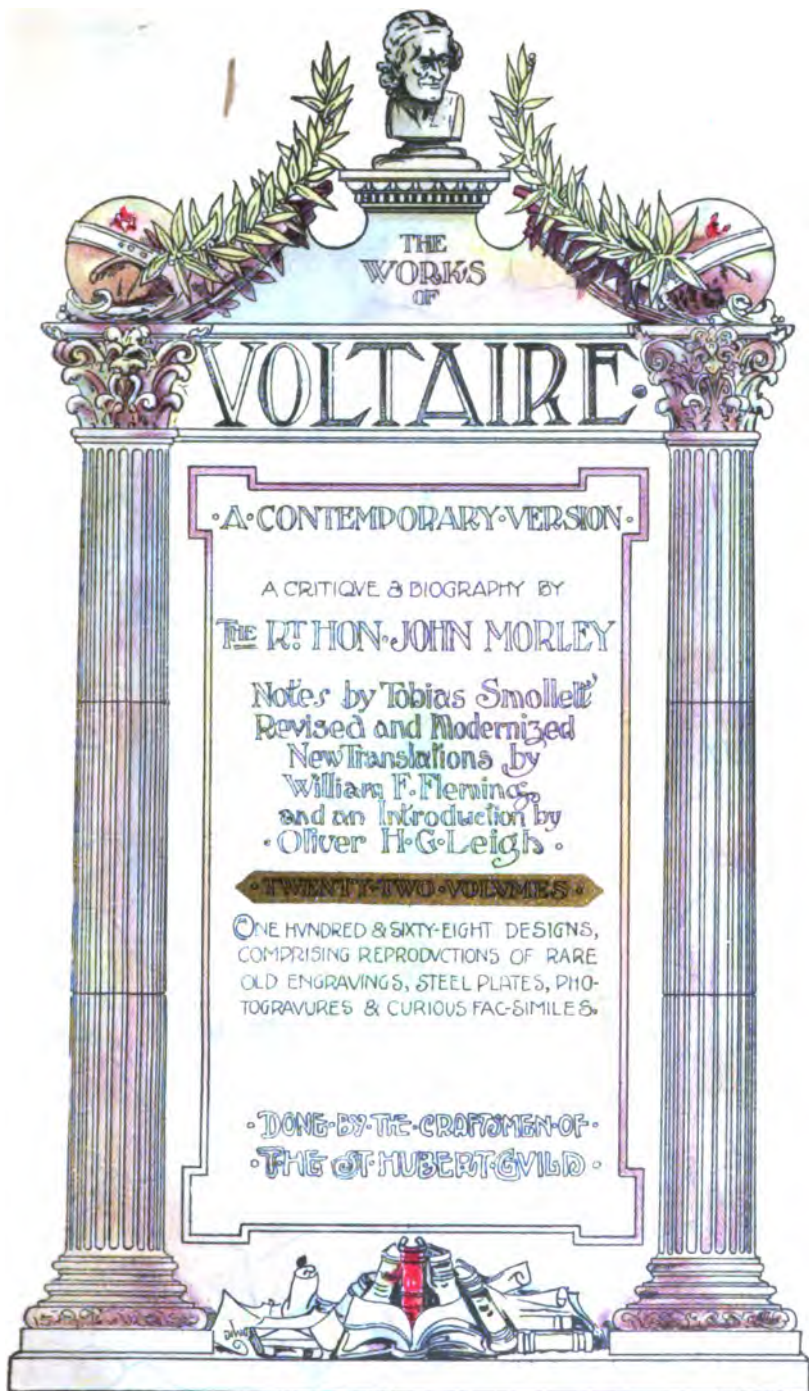
*"Between two servants of Humanity, who appeared
eighteen hundred years apart, there is a mysterious
relation. * * * * Let us say it with a
sentiment of profound respect: JESUS WEPT:
VOLTAIRE SMILED. Of that divine tear and of
that human smile is composed the sweetness of the present
civilisation."*

VICTOR HUGO.



VENUS DE MEDICI





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VOLTAIRE

ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY

VOL. XVI — PART I

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ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY.

[The notes which form this volume were written at various periods, and have interest independently of the earlier passages, which they were intended to supplement.]

THE SEEMING UNION OF THE GREEK AND LATIN CHURCHES.

The Greek emperor, John Palæologus, with his patriarch, and almost all the other prelates, subscribed at Florence to the long-disputed point of the primacy of the bishop of Rome. The Byzantine history affirms that the pope bribed them to sign this acknowledgment. This is not improbable. It was to the pope's interest to gain this advantage at any price, and the bishops of a country that had been a prey to the ravages of the Turks must have been poor.

This union of the Latins and Greeks was indeed but transitory. It was a game played by the emperor, John II., surnamed Palæologus. The whole Greek Church disowned what had been done; and the bishops who had subscribed at Florence asked pardon for their proceedings at Constantinople, and

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acknowledged that they had betrayed the true faith. They were compared to Judas, who betrayed his master, and were not readmitted into the bosom of the Church till they had formally abjured the innovations with which the Latins were accused.

After this the Latin and Greek Churches were more divided than ever. The Greeks, always vain of their boasted antiquity, their first general councils, and their sciences, increased in their hatred and contempt for the Romish communion. They made all the Latins who came over to them be baptized anew, and from this came the custom observed by the Russian priests at St. Petersburg and Riga, of obliging a Roman Catholic who embraces the Greek religion to undergo a second baptism. Several struck extreme unction out of the number of the sacraments, and they were one and all against the procession of the Holy Ghost and communicating in one kind only; and, in fact, it is certain that they differ as much from the Church of Rome as the Protestants do.

Nevertheless, Pope Eugenius IV. was thought by the whole West to have extinguished this great schism. He had indeed brought the Greek emperor and his church under a seeming subjection.

THE COUNCIL OF BASEL.

The Council of Basel were the first who forbade the popes to make more than twenty-four cardinals.

They did not consider that, by lessening the number, they increased the power; and that the more rare any dignity is, the more it is respected.

Amadeus VIII., duke of Savoy, contented himself with being a cardinal. This was the twenty-seventh and last considerable schism that had been raised for the possession of St. Peter's chair. Never was the throne of any kingdom so often disputed.

Æneas Piccolomini, the Florentine poet and orator, who was secretary to this council, had written violently in support of the superiority of councils over the popes; but after he was made pope himself, under the name of Pius II., he condemned, still more violently, his own writings, sacrificing every consideration to that of present interest, which so frequently makes the principles of truth or falsehood among them. There were some other writings of his spread abroad. In the fifteenth letter of his collection of letters, published under the title of "*Amænitates*," he recommends one of his bastards, whom he had by an English woman. Hence we find that he did not condemn his amours, as he had condemned his sentiments on the fallibility of the popes.

TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

This conquest forms a grand epoch. Here begins in reality the Turkish Empire, in the midst of Chris-

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tendom; and at this time some of the arts of Greece were first transported among them.

The Turkish annals appear to be very true in what they relate of the sieges of Constantinople. Ducas himself, who is thought to have been of the imperial race, and who during his infancy was in the besieged city, acknowledges in his history that the sultan offered to give Peloponnesus to the emperor Constantine, and to grant him some small provinces for his brothers. Mahomet wanted to have possession of the city without sacking it, as he looked upon it as a part of his property, which he was willing to preserve.

No Christian nation will suffer the Turks to have a mosque in their country, and yet the Turks give leave to the Greeks to have churches among them; several of these churches are collegiate, and in the Archipelago we see canons under the dominion of a pasha.

Some authors have had the weakness to relate that Mahomet II. said to the patriarch Gennadius: "The Holy Trinity makes thee, by the authority which I have received, ecumenical patriarch." These writers know very little of the Mussulmans, and are ignorant that our doctrine of the Trinity is held by them in the utmost abhorrence, insomuch that they think themselves defiled by only pronouncing the word, and that they look upon us as idolaters who worship many gods.

MAHOMET II.

The fortune of Mahomet failed him before Rhodes. The Knights of Malta as well as Scanderbeg had the honor of repelling the victorious arms of Mahomet II.

It was in 1480 that this conqueror attacked that island, formerly so famous, and its city, which was founded long before ancient Rome, in the most fertile spot and under the most agreeable climate; a city which had been governed by the children of Hercules, by Danaus, and by Cadmus, and was famous throughout the whole world for its brazen colossus, dedicated to the sun. This immense work was cast in brass by an Indian; it was a hundred feet high, and under its legs — each of which rested on a spacious mole of marble — the loftiest ships could sail in and out of the harbor. Rhodes had fallen under the power of the Saracens about the middle of the seventeenth century; a French knight named Foulques de Villaret, grand master of the Order of Malta, took it from them again in 1310; and another French knight, Peter d'Aubusson, defended it against the Turks.

It is remarkable that Mahomet II. employed a great number of renegade Christians in this expedition. The grand vizier himself, who laid siege to the place, was a Christian; and what is more strange, he was of the imperial house of Palæologus. One George Frupan, another Christian, had the direction of the works under the grand vizier's

orders. We never find an instance of Mussulmans changing their religion and serving in the Christian armies. But whence this difference? Is it that a religion for whose sake they have parted with a portion of their own flesh, and which they have sealed with their own blood, in a most painful operation, is for that reason more dear to them? Is it that the Asiatic conquerors had more respect shown them than the European powers? Or lastly, is it that in the times of ignorance the arms of Mussulmans were thought to be more favored of God than those of Christians, and that hence they inferred the successful cause to be the best?

Peter d'Aubusson at this time crowned his with triumph by obliging the grand vizier Messith Palæologus to raise the siege at the end of three months. Chalcondyles tells us, in his "History of the Turks," that as the besiegers were mounting the breach they beheld a golden cross in the air encircled with a glory, and a most beautiful woman robed in white: that, struck with this miraculous appearance, they threw down their arms and took to flight. It seems, however, more probable that the Turks would have been rather stimulated than intimidated with the sight of a beautiful woman, and that in fact the bravery of d'Aubusson and his knights was the only miracle that obliged the Turks to give way. But this is the usual manner of writing among the modern Greeks.

GREECE UNDER THE OTTOMANS.

Most of the stately monuments of Athens, which the ancient Romans imitated without being able to surpass, are either in ruin or totally lost; a little mosque is now built where the tomb of Themistocles stood, as we see a chapel of the Recollects built upon the ruins of the capitol of Rome. The ancient temple of Minerva is also converted into a mosque. The haven of Piræus is no more, an antique lion of marble is still left standing near it, and gives its name to the harbor of Porto Leone, which is little better than a heap of rubbish. The spot where the academy formerly stood is now covered with some gardeners' hovels. The beautiful remains of the stadium still inspire veneration and concern, and the temple of Ceres, which has escaped the injury of time, gives us a glimpse of what Athens formerly was. This city, which conquered the great Persian monarch, Xerxes, contains some seventeen thousand inhabitants, who crouch and tremble beneath the power of twelve hundred janissaries, who carry nothing but white wands in their hands. The Spartans, the ancient rivals and conquerors of Athens, are confounded in the general subjection. They struggled long for their liberty, and still seem to retain some of that ferocity and haughtiness of manners which Lycurgus taught them.

THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT.

The Koran, which is their civil as well as religious law, in the very beginning — namely in the fourth chapter — provides for the inheritance of the sons and daughters, and the traditional law and established custom supply whatever is not expressed in the Koran.

DEATH OF LOUIS XI.

It was one of the abuses of the ignorant practice of physic in 1483, which had been introduced by the Jews, to prescribe the drinking of the blood of young children to old persons troubled with apoplexy, leprosy or convulsions.

CHIVALRY OR KNIGHTHOOD.

The professors of the law erected themselves into an order, like the true knights at arms; this was a proof of the decline of ancient chivalry. The students took the name of "bachelors," after having maintained a thesis, and the doctors of law called themselves knights, a title ridiculous in itself, for originally the knight, "chevalier," or "cavalier," was a person who fought on horseback, which certainly could have no kind of connection with a civilian.

NOBILITY.

After what we have said in relation to feudal government, it remains to explain, as clearly as pos-

sible, what relates to the nobles, who were for a long time the sole possessors of fiefs.

The term "noble" at first was a title that neither conferred rights, nor was hereditary. *Nobilitas*, among the Romans, signified anything eminent or worthy of notice, and not an order of citizens. The senate was instituted to judge the knights, to fight on horseback when they were rich enough to keep a horse; and the plebeians were frequently knights, and sometimes senators.

Among the Gauls the government was in the hands of the principal officers of towns and the druids, to whom the people paid obedience. Every country has something different in its form of government. Those who say that all men are equal speak the strictest truth, if they mean that all men have an equal right to liberty, to the enjoyment of their own property, and to the protection of the laws. But they would be guilty of a great error if they thought that all men should be upon an equality in regard to rank and employments, when they are not so in regard to their talents or capacities. In this necessary inequality of conditions neither the ancients, nor indeed nine-tenths of the habitable globe, were acquainted with anything that bore the least resemblance to what we call nobility, as it is now established in Europe.

The laws and customs of this order have varied like all other things: we have already shown you that the most ancient hereditary nobility was that

of the patricians of Venice, who had seats in the council as early as the fifth century, before there was a doge; and if there are any descendants of these first magistrates, as it is said, they are undoubtedly the first nobles in Europe. It was the same in the ancient republics of Italy. This nobility was annexed to dignity and employ, and not to lands.

In every other country nobility became the portion of those who were possessed of lands. The herren of Germany, the ricoshombres of Spain, and the barons of France and England, enjoyed a hereditary nobility, merely because their feudal or non-feudal lands remained in their families. The titles of duke, count, viscount, marquis, were at first dignities or offices for life, which afterward passed from father to son, some sooner, others later.

Upon the decline of the family of Charlemagne almost all the states of Europe, the republics excepted, were governed as Germany is at present; and we have seen that every possessor of a fief exercised sovereign authority in his own territories, as far as he was able.

It is clear that sovereigns owed no service to any other, except what the petty ones engaged themselves to pay to the great. Thus a castellan, or sovereign lord of a castle, paid a pair of spurs to a viscount, who paid a falcon to a count, and this last some other mark of vassalage to a duke. These all acknowledged the king of the country for their

lord paramount, though he could not impose a tax upon any one of them. They owed the service of their persons, because they fought for their lands and for themselves, in fighting for the state and the chief of the state; and hence it comes that, at present, the new nobles, or those who have been ennobled without being possessors of lands, do not pay the tax laid on landholders, and known by the name of *taille*.

The masters of castles and lands, who composed the body of nobles in all countries, except in the republics, endeavored as much as possible to enslave the inhabitants of their lands; but the great towns always opposed them in this, as the magistrates of these towns would on no account be the serfs or vassals of a count, a baron, or a bishop, and much less of an abbot, who arrogated to himself the same honors as a baron or a count. The cities on the Rhine and the Rhone, and others of greater antiquity, such as Autun, Arles, and particularly Marseilles, flourished long before there were either lords or prelates. Their magistracy was several centuries prior to the existence of fiefs; but the barons and castellans got the better, almost everywhere, of the citizens; and although the magistrates were not serfs of the lord, they were at least his burghers; and hence it comes that in many ancient charters we find sheriffs, *échevins*, and mayors, entitle themselves burghers of a count, or a bishop, and king's burghers. These burghers could not change their

habitation without the permission of their lord, and by paying a considerable fine. This kind of servitude is still in force in Germany.

In like manner as the fiefs were distinguished into frank fiefs, which owed no service to the lord paramount, and into great and little fiefs, which did owe service; so there were also French burghers, that is to say, those who purchased the right of exemption from all service to their lord; grand burghers, who were possessed of civil employment, and petty burghers, who in many respects were slaves.

This form of government, which had been raised by insensible degrees, fell to decay in like manner, in several countries, and in others were entirely abolished.

The kings of France, for example, at first ennobled the burghers by conferring on them titles without lands. It is said there were found, among the collection of charters of France, letters of nobility granted by Philip I., in 1095, to a burgher of Paris, named Eudes le Maire; and St. Louis undoubtedly made his barber, La Brosse, noble, in creating him his chamberlain. Philip III., who ennobled his banker, Raoul, was not, as some say, the first king who assumed the privilege of changing the condition of his subjects. Philip the Fair did, in like manner, bestow the title of noble and esquire on the burgher Bertrand, and some others. This example was followed by all other crowned

heads. In 1339 Philip of Valois ennobled Simon de Luci, president of the parliament, and his wife, Nicole Taupin.

In 1350, King John ennobled William de Dormans, his chancellor; for, at this time, the office of clerk, lawyer, or of the long robe, gave no rank among nobility, notwithstanding that the clerks assumed the title of knights of the law, and bachelors of law. Thus we find John Pastourel, the king's advocate, ennobled, together with his wife, Sédille, by Charles V., in 1354.

On the other hand, the kings of England created counts and barons, who had neither county nor barony. The emperors exercised the same privilege in Italy; and after their example, the possessors of great fiefs took the same liberty. We have even an instance of a count de Foix, who assumed the power of ennobling, and by this means of correcting the deficiency of fortune in birth. He granted a patent of nobility to one Bertrand, his chancellor, and the descendants of this Bertrand called themselves noble; but it was at the option of the king and the rest of the nobles to acknowledge this title or not. Private lords of Orange, of Saluzzo, and many others, assumed the same licence.

¶ The military body of sharpshooters and pioneers, in the reign of Charles VII., being exempted from the payment of taxes, thereupon assumed the titles of noble and esquire, without any permission, and these titles were afterward confirmed by time, which

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establishes and overturns all customs and privileges; and several great families in France are descendants of these pioneers, who made themselves noble, and who merited that title by having served their country.

The emperors not only created nobles without lands, but counts palatine also. This title was given to the doctors of the universities. Charles IV. first introduced this custom, and Bartolus was the first on whom he conferred the title of count, which, however, no more entitled the descendants of this Bartolus to a seat in the chapters than it would those of the pioneers.

The popes, who pretended to be superior to the emperor, thought it concerned their dignity to create palatines and marquises also; and the legates who governed the provinces belonging to the holy see were very lavish in conferring these titles; hence it comes that there are so many more counts and marquises in Italy than feudal lords.

In France, after Philip the Fair had established the court called parliament, the lords of fiefs, who had seats in that court, were obliged to avail themselves of the assistance of clerks, taken either from among the lower rank of people, or the bodies of Frank, grand, or petty burghers. These clerks quickly assumed the title of knights and bachelors, in imitation of the nobility; but it is plain that the title of knight, which was given them by their clients, did not make them nobles at court, since

Attorney-General Pastourel and Chancellor Dormans were obliged to take patents of nobility for themselves. The students of the universities took the title of bachelor, after passing one examination, and that of licentiate after the second, not daring to assume that of knight.

It may appear to have been a great contradiction that the professors of the law, who had a right to sit in judgment on the nobles, should not themselves enjoy the right of nobility. This, however, was really the case in all countries; but in France, indeed, they enjoyed the same privileges of exemption as the nobles, during their own lives. It is true that their rights did not entitle them to sit in the general assembly of the states, as lords of fiefs, to carry a bird on their fief, or to serve in person in the field, but only consisted in not paying the taille, and in being called Messire.

France has always been remarkable for the mutability of its laws and customs, the former of which have never been sufficiently clear and well understood. The bar has always been in a fluctuating state. The courts of justice, which the French call parliaments, have frequently determined on the pretensions of children of officers of the long robe to the right of nobility. In 1540, the Parliament of Paris decreed that the children of the king's attorney, Jean Lemaistre, had a right to inherit as noble. Afterward, namely in 1578, it gave a like decree in favor of a chancellor named Menager; but the

civilians were divided in their opinion concerning these rights which had been insensibly annexed to the long robe by custom. Louet, a counsellor of the parliament, pretended that the children of magistrates could inherit only as commoners, and that none but grandchildren were entitled by birth-right to the rank of gentlemen.

The court, however, did not regulate its opinion by that of the civilians; for, in 1582, Henry III. declared by an edict that no one, except those of a noble house and family, should presume thenceforth to take the title of noble, or name of esquire.

Henry IV. showed himself less strict and more just when, in his edict concerning the regulation of the taxes, issued in the year 1600, he declared — though in very vague terms — that those who had served the nation in honorable posts might begin to give a right of nobility to their posterity.

This dispute, of so many ages standing, seemed happily terminated by Louis XIV., in July, 1644; but the event proved otherwise. We must here step a little aside from the order of time in order to throw as much light upon this matter as possible. You will find in the age of Louis XIV. the civil war that was excited in Paris during that prince's minority. It was during this war, and in 1644, that the Parliament of Paris, the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, and all the other courts of the provinces, obtained "the privileges of nobles by birth, gentlemen and barons of the kingdom," to

descend to the children of counsellors and presidents who should have served twenty years, or have died in the exercise of their offices. By this edict their rank seemed ascertained.

Could any one then think that Louis XIV. would, in 1669, himself sitting in parliament, resume these privileges, and only maintain all these officers of justice in the employment of their ancient privileges, revoking all the rights of nobility which he had granted to them in 1644, and afterward till this very year 1669?

Louis XIV., with all his power, has not been able to deprive such a number of citizens of a right which he bestowed on them under his own hand. It is not very easy for one man to oblige so many others to strip themselves of what they have looked upon as a part of their property. The edict of 1644 has therefore prevailed, and the courts of judicature have enjoyed the rights of nobility, the nation not choosing to contest this point with those whose office it is to judge the nation.

While the magistrates of the superior courts were thus disputing about their rank, from the year 1300, the burghers and officers of the towns were in a still more uncertain state. Charles V., called the Wise, for having gained the affections of the citizens of Paris, granted them several of the privileges of nobility, such as bearing coats of arms, and holding fiefs without paying the tax of *frank-fiefs*; but Henry continued this privilege to the provost of the

merchants, and four *échevins*, or sheriffs. The mayors and sheriffs of several towns in France enjoy the same rights, some by ancient customs, others by grant.

The most ancient grant of nobility given to the office of the pen in France was that of the king's secretaries. These were originally what the secretaries of state are at present, and were called clerks of the privy-council; now, as they wrote immediately under the kings, and forwarded all their orders, it appeared but just that they should enjoy some mark of distinction; and the privilege of nobility to which they were entitled after twenty years' service served as a model to the officers of the courts of judicature.

And here we principally perceive the extreme mutability of customs in France. The secretaries of state, who had originally no other right than that of signing the despatches, and who could not give any authenticity to these, but in virtue of their offices of clerks of the privy council, or the king's private notaries, are even become ministers of state, and the powerful instruments of the will of an all-powerful monarch. They have assumed the title of *monseigneur*, which was formerly given only to princes and to knights, and at the same time the king's secretaries are confined to the chancery, where their whole office consists in signing patents. The number of these useful members has been increased to three hundred, solely for the sake of raising

money; and this shameful method has perpetuated the French nobility in more than six thousand families, whose chiefs successively bought their offices for a stipulated sum.

A prodigious number of subjects, of other denominations, such as bankers, surgeons, merchants, household servants to princes, and clerks in offices, have obtained letters of nobility, and in the course of a few generations they wrote themselves, in any public proceedings, most high and mighty lords. Titles of this kind have debased the ancient nobility, and have done no great honor to the new.

The personal service of the ancient knights and esquires being at length wholly laid aside, and the general assembly of the states being no longer assembled, the privileges of both ancient and modern nobility are now limited to the payment of the poll-tax instead of the *taille*. Those whose fathers were neither sheriffs nor counsellors, nor ennobled persons, have been distinguished by appellations which have now become offensive, such as "*vilains*," and "*roturiers*," i. e., peasants.

The term "*villein*" comes from "*villa*," a town or city, because formerly only nobles were lords of castles, and "*roturier*" from "*ruptura terræ*," the breaking up of the land, husbandry; hence it has happened more than once that a lieutenant-general of the forces, a brave officer, covered with scars, has been obliged to pay the *taille*, while the son of a clerk in an office has enjoyed the same privileges as

the first officers of the crown. This shameful abuse was not remedied till 1752, by M. d'Argenson, secretary of war, who has served the army more than any other minister, and to whose merit I the more readily do justice in this place, as he has been lately degraded.

The ridiculous multiplicity of nobles, without office, or real nobility, this debasing distinction between the useless noble who pays nothing to the state, and the useful plebeian who contributes his share to the taxes; those posts which are only obtained by money, and which confer the empty title of esquire, are abuses which we do not meet with in any other country, and are the effects of a kind of frantic desire in a government to stamp a mark of degradation on the major part of the nation. In England, whoever is possessed of an estate of forty shillings a year in land is a freeholder, a free-born Englishman, and has a right to the nomination of his representatives in parliament. Every one who has not a trade is a gentleman, and there are no nobles, in the strictness of the term, but those who represent the ancient barons and peers of the realm in the upper house, or house of lords.

There are many free states in which the privileges of birth are of no advantage, and in which they admit only those of citizen; and even in the city of Basel, no gentleman can hold any office in the republic, unless he relinquishes his privileges of a

gentleman; and yet in every free state the magistrates only take the title of "noble." It is without doubt the most eminent nobility to have been at the head of a republic, from father to son; but such is the force of custom and prejudice that four hundred years' possession of so refined a dignity would not exempt the bearer in France from paying the *taille*, nor gain him admittance into the most inconsiderable chapter in Germany.

These customs form a complicated picture of human vanity and inconstancy; but happily it is the least melancholy part of the history of human kind.

TOURNAMENTS OR JOUSTS.

The tournaments, so long famous throughout Christendom, and so often anathematized, were games far more noble than the wrestling, the throwing of the disc, or the races of the Greeks, and not nearly so barbarous as the fights of gladiators among the Romans. Our tournaments bore no resemblance to these ancient diversions, but were much like the military exercises so common in old times, and the games which we find described in Homer. These warlike games first took their rise in Italy, in the reign of Theodoric, who suppressed the gladiators of the fifth century, not by a prohibitory edict, but by reproaching the Romans with this barbarous custom, in order that they might learn politeness of a Goth. After this there were frequent military

games in Italy, and particularly in the kingdom of Lombardy, as also petty combats, called "battagliole," which are still kept up in the cities of Venice and Pisa.

This custom was soon adopted by other nations. Nithard tells us, that in 870, the sons of Louis the Feeble celebrated their reconciliation by solemn tilts, which were afterward called tournaments; and in which, says he, "either party ran at each other full speed."

Henry the Fowler celebrated his coronation in 920 by one of these military entertainments, in which the parties fought on horseback. The preparations were as splendid as could be in a country so poor that it had not one fortified town but what had been built by the Romans, along the banks of the Rhine.

This custom became general in France, England, Spain, and among the Moorish nations. We know that Geoffrey de Precielli, a knight of Touraine, compiled certain laws to be observed in the celebration of these games, toward the end of the eleventh century. Some pretend that the name of tournament came from the city of Tours, for the combatants did not turn in these exercises as they did in the chariot races among the Greeks and Romans. But it is more probable, that tournament was derived from the sword with a turned point, "*ensis torneaticus*," in law Latin, it not being permitted in these games to strike with any other pointed weapons but the lance. These games were, at their first institu-

tion, called by the French, *emprises*, feats of arms; the word feat showed that the combat was not to be mortal. They were also called "*behourds*," from the name of the armor, or breastplate, with which their horses were covered. René of Anjou, king of Sicily and Jerusalem, and duke of Lorraine, though not in possession of a foot of either of these dominions, who was very fond of making verses and tournaments, made also several new rules and orders to be observed in those pastimes.

"Whosoever," says he, "will hold a tournament or joust must be a prince, or at least a high baron." The person who held the tournament sent a herald with a sword, to the prince whom he invited, desiring him to appoint judges of the field.

"Tournaments," says good King René, "may be of abundant utility, inasmuch as it may happen that some young knight or esquire, by his achievements therein, may acquire the good graces or greater affection of the lady whom he serveth."

Then follow the several ceremonies to be observed in these exercises, such as hanging the armorial ensigns or banners of the contending knights or esquires, at the windows or on the galleries round the lists.

Everything was done in honor of the ladies. According to the laws of good King René, they were to examine the arms of the combatants, and to distribute the prizes to the victors, and if any knight or esquire who was a candidate at these tournaments

had spoken ill of any lady, the other candidates beat him with their swords till the ladies cried out "grace," or enough! or else he was placed astride the rails that went round the list, as a soldier is now set on the wooden horse.

Besides these tournaments, there were likewise "*pas d'armes*," and of these amusements King René was likewise the lawgiver. The "*pas d'armes*" of the dragon's throat, held near Chinon in 1446, was very famous. Some time after, that of the Castle of Merry Men, acquired still greater reputation. In these combats the trial of skill was to defend the entrance of a castle, or the passage of a high road. René had done much better to try his skill in entering Sicily or Lorraine. The device of this gallant prince was a chafing dish full of live coals, with these words, "full of ardent desire"; this ardent desire was not for the recovery of the dominions which he had lost, but for the charms of Mademoiselle Guy de Laval, with whom he was in love, and whom he married after the death of his wife, Isabella of Lorraine.

These ancient tournaments first gave rise to armorial bearings, about the beginning of the twelfth century: and whatever of that nature is supposed to have existed before that time is evidently fictitious, as are likewise the pretended laws of the Knights of the Round Table, so much talked of in romance. Every knight who presented himself at the list with his beaver or helmet closed for com-

bat, had some arbitrary figures or symbols painted on his shield, or coat of arms. Hence came the knights of the eagle, of the lion, etc., names so famous in the writings of the old novelists. The terms of blazonry, which at present seem such an absurd and barbarous jargon, were then words in common use.

If there was ever any reason for encouraging these warlike sports, it was in the times of the Crusades, when the exercise of arms was consecrated by necessity; and yet it was at this very period that the popes thought proper to prohibit them, and to anathematize an image of war, when they themselves were perpetually stirring up real ones. Among others, Nicholas III., that pontiff who had advised the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers, excommunicated all those who had engaged in, or were even present at a tournament held in France by Philip the Bold, in 1279. But there were other popes who approved of these combats; and King John of France entertained Pope Urban V. with one of these shows, when, after his return from his captivity in England, he went to take up the cross at Avignon on the mad project of fighting against the Turks, instead of setting himself to repair the disasters of his own kingdom.

Tournaments were not admitted into the Greek Empire till very late. The Greeks in general held all the customs of the West in contempt; they despised coats of arms, and treated the science of

heraldry as ridiculous. At length in 1326 the young emperor, Andronicus, having espoused a princess of the house of Savoy, some young gentlemen of that country gave a tournament at Constantinople, and from that the Greeks became accustomed to these military exercises. But the Turks were not to be resisted by tournaments; it required well-disciplined armies, and an able government, two things which the Greeks did not then possess.

The custom of holding tournaments kept its footing throughout all Europe. One of the most solemn and magnificent was that which was held at Boulogne-sur-Mér in 1309, on the occasion of the marriage of Isabella of France with King Edward II. of England. Edward III. held two very fine ones afterward in London. There was even one held at Paris in 1415, during the unfortunate reign of Charles VI. After this came those of René of Anjou, of which we have already spoken. They continued to be very frequent till the death of Henry II. of France, who, as we all know, was killed at one of these diversions in the palace of the Tournelles in 1559. One would imagine this accident should have put a final stop to them.

But the idle lives of the Greeks, joined to habit and a natural inclination, revived these bloody amusements at Orleans in less than a year after the tragical end of Henry II. Here Prince Henry de Bourbon Montpensier was the victim by a fall from his horse, which cost him his life. This put a total

stop to tournaments. But there still remained a faint image of them in the *pas d'armes* held by Charles IX. and Henry III., a year after the massacre of St. Bartholomew; for in those days festivals and proscriptions always went hand in hand. These *pas d'armes* were not attended with any danger, as the combatants fought only with blunt weapons. There was no tournament held on the marriage of the duke de Joyeuse in 1581; the word "tournament" is therefore improperly applied by de l'Étoile in the account he gives us of these diversions in his journal. The *grandees* did not fight at all; and what he calls a tournament was only a kind of war-like ballet, exhibited in the gardens of the Louvre by hired performers, and was a show given to the court, and not given by the court itself. The games which afterward went by the name of tournaments were only *carrousels*.

We may therefore date the suppression of tournaments from 1560. With them expired the spirit of chivalry, which appeared no more except in romance. This spirit prevailed greatly in the reigns of Francis I., and of the emperor Charles V. Philip II., who seldom stirred out of his own palace, encouraged no merit but that of a blind submission to his will. After the death of Henry II., France was plunged in fanaticism, and desolated by religious wars. Germany, divided between the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist factions, forgot

the ancient customs of chivalry; and in Italy they were lost in the spirit of intrigue.

The *pas d'armes*, the combats of the lists, and the imitation of the ancient tournaments, everywhere abolished, were succeeded by the bull-fight in Spain, and *carrousels* in France, Italy, and Germany. It would be superfluous to give a description of these games in this place, after that which we have given of the grand one held by Louis XIV., in the age of that monarch. The last *carrousel* which was held was that at Berlin in 1750, which was finely executed, and at which the brothers of the king of Prussia distinguished themselves greatly by their skill and address. All these military games are now things of the past; and of the many exercises which formerly rendered the body so robust and agile, none now remain but that of hunting, and even this is greatly neglected of late by the crowned heads of Europe. Pleasures have had their revolutions as well as every other thing.

DUELS.

The manner of educating our nobility greatly encouraged the practice of duelling, which has been of so long continuance, and had its beginning with our modern monarchies. The custom of deciding the merits of a cause by a legal combat was known only to the Christians of the West. We hear of no duels among those of the Eastern Church: and the

ancients were utter strangers to this barbarous practice. Cæsar indeed tells us in his "Commentaries" that two of his centurions, who had been always jealous of, and at enmity with, each other, decided their quarrel by a challenge, but this challenge was to show which of them should perform the most valiant feats in battle. One of them, after having slain a great number of the enemy with his own hand, being at length wounded and thrown to the ground himself, his competitor stepped in and rescued him. Such were the duels of the Romans.

The most ancient example of duels commanded by the sovereign is in the law of Gondebaut the Burgundian, a German by family, who had usurped the dukedom of Burgundy. This method of judgment was established throughout all the West. The old Catalan law quoted by the learned Ducange, and the German and Bavarian laws, mention several cases in which the parties were ordered to determine the dispute by single combat.

In the assizes held by the Crusaders at Jerusalem, we find the law run thus, "*Le garant que l'on lieve si come es par pu doit répondre à qui li lieve, Tu ments et te rendrai mort ô recrean et vessi mon gage*"—the meaning of which is, that the party accused shall say to the accuser, "thou liest, and I will either make thee recant, or thou shalt die by my hand, and here is my gage or token of defiance."

The ancient Norman customary says, "*Plainte de meurtre doit être faite; et si l'accusé nie, il en offre*

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gage — et bataille li doit être ottroyée par justice” — that is, complaint of murder must be made, and if the accused party denies the charge, he offers challenge, in which case the law must grant him combat.

It is evident by these laws that a man accused of one murder had a right to commit two. Even civil matters were often terminated by these bloody issues. If two parties disputed an inheritance with each other, he who had the best sword was held to have the best right; and differences between fellow citizens were decided like those between nations, by force of arms.

This law procedure experienced its changes like all other human institutions, whether wise or foolish. St. Louis enacted that an esquire, if accused by a villein, i. e., a peasant, might fight on horseback, and that a villein accused by an esquire must fight on foot. He exempts youths under twenty-one years of age from the laws of duelling, and old persons above sixty.

The women and priests had the naming of the champions who were to cut each other's throats in their name; and the success and honor of a family depended on a lucky choice. It sometimes happened that churchmen themselves offered and accepted combat, and fought within enclosed ground. By the constitutions of William the Conqueror, it appears that no clerk or abbot could engage in single combat without permission first had of their bishops,

"Si clericus duellum sine episcopi licentia susceperit, etc."

By the laws of St. Louis, and other precedents quoted by Ducange, it seems that those who were defeated were sometimes hanged, and sometimes beheaded or dismembered. These were called laws of honor, and authorized under the seal of this kingly saint, who is said to have wanted to abolish this custom worthy only of savages.

Justice was so far improved in the reign of Louis the Young, that he issued an order in 1168, that single combat should be ordered only in cases where the sum exceeded five crowns.

Philip the Fair published a large code of duels. If the appellant had a mind to fight by party, and named a champion to defend his cause, he was to say, "Our sovereign lord, the king, by legal essoin of my body — i. e., through bodily weakness or disease — I claim and demand to have such a gentleman for my champion, who may in my presence, if so I can, or in my absence with the help of God, of our Holy Lady, and Monseigneur St. George, do true and loyal service in my name, and at my hazard, etc."

The two adversaries, or their champions in their stead, appeared on a day appointed within a list eighty paces in length, and forty wide, attended by the sergeants-at-arms. They were to come "mounted on horseback with their visors down, their shields slung across their shoulders, their falchions in their

hands, and their swords and daggers girt to their sides." They were enjoined to bear a crucifix, or an image of the virgin Mary, or of some saint in their banners. The heralds at arms made the spectators range themselves on the outside of the lists on foot, no one being permitted to be present on horseback, under pain of losing his horse if a nobleman, and if a commoner, of losing one ear.

The marshal of the field, assisted by a priest, swore the two combatants on a crucifix, that their right was good, and that they made use of no enchanted arms, taking Monseigneur St. George to witness, and renouncing heaven if they spoke falsely. These blasphemous ceremonies over, the marshal cried out with a loud voice, "Let them go on"; and then, throwing down a glove, the combatants went to work, and the arms of the vanquished were the marshal's fee.

Much the same kind of forms were observed in England. But in Germany they differed considerably. We read in the "Theatre of Honor," and in several other ancient chronicles, that, in general the village of Hall in Suabia was the place for these combats. The two parties applied to the assembly of the Notables, who are the chief magistrates of Suabia, for permission to enter the lists. On these occasions, they assigned to each combatant a god-father and a confessor; the people chanted a "libera"; a bier surrounded by torches, and designed to receive the lifeless corpse of the vanquished

person, was placed at one end of the lists. The same ceremonies were observed at Wartburg.

There were a great number of these close combats all over Europe till the thirteenth century. From the laws for these combats came the proverbial sayings: *Les mort sont tort; Les battus payent l'amende*—"The dead are always in the wrong; and he that is beaten must pay all costs."

The Parliament of France sometimes ordered these combats; in the same manner as they now order proofs to be produced in writing, or by verbal evidence. In 1343, during the reign of Philip of Valois, the parliament came to a resolution that there was a lawful challenge, and a necessity of mortal combat, between the chevalier Dubois and the chevalier de Vervins, because the latter had endeavored to persuade Philip that "Dubois had bewitched his highness the king of France."

The duel between Légris and Carrouge, ordered by parliament in the reign of Charles VI., is famous even to this day. The dispute was whether Légris had lain with Carrouge's wife against her consent, or not?

Long afterward, namely, in 1442, in a solemn cause between the chevalier Patarin and the esquire Tachon, the parliament declared the affair in question did not require trial by combat; inasmuch as it required a peremptory accusation or charge, independent of all witnesses, to warrant a legal order for a duel.

A charge of this kind happened in the year 1454, in the person of one John Picard, who was accused of having defiled his own daughter, and was held by a decree to fight against his son-in-law, who was his accuser. The "Theatre of Honor and Chivalry" does not tell us the issue of this affair; but, be it as it might, the parliament ordered a charge of incest to be made good by parricide.

The bishops, and abbots likewise, in imitation of the parliaments and king's council, ordered close combats within their jurisdictions. Ives de Chartres reproaches the archbishop of Sens and the bishop of Orleans with having ordered too great a number of duels of this kind in civil matters. In the year 1100, Geoffrey du Mayne, bishop of Angers, obliged the monks of St. Serga to prove by combat their right to certain tithes, to which they laid claim; and the champion for the monks got the cause for them by soundly cudgelling his adversary.

Under the last race of the dukes of Burgundy, the burghers of the towns of Flanders enjoyed the privilege of proving their claims with a buckler and a club. They rubbed themselves all over with tallow or grease, because they had heard that the athletes of old anointed themselves with oil; they next dipped their hands into a tub or bucket of ashes, and then putting some sugar or honey into their mouths, they fought till one of them dropped, and he that was overcome was hanged.

The list of these single combats, ordered by sov-

ereigns, would swell this work to too great a size. King Francis I. issued a solemn order for two; and his son, Henry II., for two others. The first of those which Henry ordered was that between Jarnac and La Chataigneraye, in the year 1547. La Chataigneraye had accused Jarnac with lying with his mother-in-law; but was this a reason for a king, with the advice of his council, to order two of his subjects to butcher each other in his presence? But such were the manners of the times. The two champions swore, each on the holy gospels, that he fought in the cause of truth, and that he carried about him neither charms, spells, nor incantations. La Chataigneraye dying of his wounds, Henry II. made a vow never more to order duels; and the next year, he, in council, issued letters-patent, enjoining two young gentlemen to fight within the lists at Sedan, under the inspection of Marshal de la Marck, prince of Sedan. Henry thought he had not broken his oath, because he ordered the parties to go and murder each other out of his kingdom. The court of Lorraine formally opposed this honor conferred on Marshal de la Marck, and sent a protest to Sedan, alleging that all duels between the Rhine and the Meuse were, according to the laws of the empire, to be fought only by order, and in the presence, of the sovereign of Lorraine. Notwithstanding this, the field was marked out in Sedan. The motive of this order of Henry and his council, was that one of these gentlemen, named d'Ageures, had put his hand

into the breeches of a young man, named Fendilles. Fendilles, being wounded, confessed the accusation to have been false; upon which he was thrown out of the lists by the heralds at arms, and his arms broken; this was one of the punishments inflicted on the vanquished party. It would be difficult in our days to conceive how so ridiculous an affair could have been thought worthy of being decided by combat.

We must not confound these duels, which may be looked on as judgments of the Almighty, with the single combats between the chiefs of two armies, or the knights of two adverse parties. These latter were feats of arms, and military exploits, which have even been in vogue among all nations.

It is hard to determine whether we should rank several cartels of defiance between king and king, and prince and prince, in the number of legal duels, or among the exploits of chivalry: there have been instances of both kinds.

When Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, and Peter of Aragon, defied each other to combat, after the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers, they agreed to stake the justice of their cause upon a single combat, with the permission of Pope Martin IV., as says John Baptist Carassa, in his "History of Naples." King Philip the Bald appointed Bordeaux for the place of combat. Nothing could more resemble the old legal duels. Charles of Anjou came to the rendezvous the morning of the day

appointed, and took out an action of default against his adversary, who did not arrive till the same evening. Peter, in return, took out another action of default against Charles, for not having waited for him. This singular challenge would have been ranked in the number of legal combats, if these two kings had had as great an inclination to fight with, as to brave, each other. The duel which Edward III. proposed to Philip of Valois comes within the rules of chivalry. Philip refused his challenge, alleging that a vassal could not challenge his lord paramount; but afterward, when the vassal had defeated the army of his lord, Philip offered him combat; and Edward, who was then conqueror, refused it, saying that he was too wise to put to the hazard of a single combat what he had gained by many battles.

The emperor Charles V. and Francis I. defied each other, sent mutual challenges, gave each other the "lie in the throat," but never fought. There is not a single instance of one king fighting against another within lists; but incredible is the number of knights who lavished their blood in these exploits.

We have already taken notice of the challenge of a duke of Bourbon, who to keep himself from idleness, proposed a combat to extremity in honor of the ladies.

One of the most famous challenges is that of John de Warchin, a knight of great renown, and seneschal or grand bailiff of Hainault, who caused to be fixed

up in all the capital cities of Europe, that he would fight *à outrance* (to extremity), either single, or himself with other five persons, with sword, lance, and battle-axe, "with the help of God, of the Holy Virgin, and Monseigneur St. George and his lady." The combat was to be in a village of Flanders, named Conchy; but no person appearing to enter the lists with this Flemish hero, he made a vow to go in search of adventure throughout France and Spain, constantly armed cap-a-pie; after which he went and made an offering of his bourdon, or staff, at the shrine of Monseigneur St. James in Galicia. By this you may see that the original of Quixotism was in Flanders.

The most horrible duel that was ever proposed, and which nevertheless, was the most excusable, was that of Arnold, or Arnaud, the last duke of Guelders, whose territories fell to the Burgundy branch of the house of France, afterward belonged to the Austro-Spanish branch, and one part of which is still free.

Adolphus, son of this duke Arnaud, took up arms against his father in 1470, in the time of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy; and this Adolphus declared publicly, in the presence of Charles, that his father had been in possession of the dukedom long enough, and that he was determined to enjoy it in his turn, and that, if his father would accept a small pension of three thousand florins, he would give it him willingly. Charles, who before

his misfortunes was very powerful, cited father and son to appear before him; the father, though old and infirm, threw down his pledge of combat, and demanded permission of the duke of Burgundy to fight his son in his court. The son accepted the challenge, but Charles would not permit the combat; and the father, having with great justice disinherited his unnatural and rebellious son, and given his dominions to Charles, that unfortunate prince lost them all, together with his own and his life, in a war still more unjust than any of the duels we have been relating.

The chief thing which contributed to the suppression of this custom was the new method of fighting introduced into the armies. King Henry IV. decried the use of lances at the battle of Ivry; and, at present, where the superiority of fire determines the fate of the day, a knight would have but an indifferent chance to present himself, with his lance couched for battle, before the front of a battalion. Military courage consisted formerly in keeping firm, and armed at all points, on a horse that was also in a manner cased with steel. In our days, it consists in marching slowly up to the mouth of the cannon that sometimes sweep away whole ranks at a discharge.

When the legal duels and the cartels of chivalry ceased, duels between private persons began to rage with great fury; and everyone took to himself, on the most trivial occasions, that licence which was

formerly wont to be demanded of parliaments, bishops, and kings.

Duels were much less frequent when courts of justice ordered them in a solemn manner; but when they came to be forbidden, they increased out of number. They soon came to have seconds in these combats, as in those in the times of chivalry.

One of the most famous we meet with in history, is that of Cailus, Maugiron, and Livarot, against Antragnet, Riberac, and Schomberg, in the reign of Henry III., at a place now called Place Royale, or the king's square, and where formerly stood the palace of Tournelles. After that, hardly a day passed without some duel happening; and this madness was carried so far that there were companies of gendarmes, into which no person was admitted who had not fought at least one duel, or would not take an oath to fight one before the expiration of the year. This horrid custom continued till the reign of Louis XIV.

SPAIN.

In the fifteenth century, the bastard Trastamare, a rebel against his lawful king, had been formerly acknowledged king himself, and they dethroned their lawful sovereign and declared his daughter illegitimate, though publicly born of the queen, and acknowledged by her father as his own child.

Never was injustice better colored, more fortu-

nate, or justified by more daring and prudent conduct. Isabella and Ferdinand established such a power in Spain as had never been known since the restoration of the Christians. The Moors were now in possession only of Granada, and drew near to their ruin in that part of Europe, while the Turks seemed on the point of subduing the other. The Christians had lost Spain in the beginning of the eighth century, by their mutual discords and divisions; the same cause drove the Moors at length out of Spain.

THE JEWS IN EUROPE.

After having seen how the Jews were treated in Spain, let us now examine what was their situation in the other nations of Europe. You know, that they everywhere exercised the business of brokers, and itinerant traders; as they did in ancient times in Babylon, Rome, and Alexandria. In France, their movable possessions belonged to the baron or lord, on whose lands they dwelt. "The movables of Jews," say the regulations of St. Louis, "belong to the baron."

A Jew could no more be taken from a baron, than his horse or his mule. The same law prevailed in Germany. The Jews are declared serfs by a declaration of Frederick II. A Jew was at first part of the domains, or property of the emperor; afterward every lord had his Jews.

Till the end of the fourteenth century, it was

established by the feudal laws in most parts of Europe, that when a Jew embraced Christianity his effects were confiscated for the use of his lord. This, you will say, was no efficacious method to promote their conversion; but, at all events, the baron was to be indemnified for the loss of his Jew.

In great towns, and especially in the imperial cities, they had their synagogues, and enjoyed some of the privilege of citizens: but then you may be sure they paid handsomely for them; and when they became very rich, especial care was taken to accuse them of having crucified a young child on a Good Friday. On this accusation, which never failed to please the populace, a law was made in several of the towns of Languedoc and Provence, permitting any one to beat or ill-use a Jew, if he was found in the streets from Good Friday till Easter Day.

Their chief vocation having been from time immemorial the lending of money on pledges, they were forbidden to lend upon any church ornaments, or on bloody or wet linen or clothes. In 1215, the Lateran Council ordered that they should carry the figure of a small wheel on their breasts, to distinguish them from Christians. These badges were changed at different times; but they were always obliged to wear something by which they might be known. They were expressly forbidden to take any maid-servants or nurses who were Christians, or even concubines of that religion, and there were

some countries in which they burned those women who had lain with a Jew man, or the man who had lain with a Jew woman, for this unanswerable reason, which we find given by the great civilian, Gal-lus: "It is the same thing to lie with a Jew as with a dog."

Whenever they had any lawsuit against a Christian, they were obliged to swear by Sabaoth, Eloï, and Adonai, and the ten names of God, and they were threatened with the tertian, quartan, and quotidian ague if they did not speak the truth; and, if they were cast, they were sure to be hanged between two dogs.

In England they were permitted to take mortgages upon estates in the country, for moneys lent thereon; and, in the "*Monasticum Anglicanum*," we find that it cost six marks sterling to redeem any estate out of the hands of a Jewish mortgagee.

They were at different times driven out of almost all the towns in Christendom, and almost as continually recalled. Rome alone has constantly kept them within her bosom. They were totally driven out of France, in 1394, by Charles VI., and could never afterward obtain permission to reside in Paris, where they had formerly occupied several whole streets. In Metz and Bordeaux they are permitted the use of synagogues, only because they were found in possession of that privilege at the time these towns were annexed to the crown of France; but they have constantly remained uninterrupted in Avignon,

which is a part of the pope's territories. In a word, they were everywhere usurers, in virtue of the privilege and benediction of their own law, and everywhere held in detestation on that very account.

Their famous rabbis, Maimonides, Abarbanel, Aben-Ezra, and others, in vain repeated to the Christians, in all their writings: "We are your fathers, our Scripture is yours, our books are read in your churches, and our hymns are sung there." They were answered only by being plundered, exiled, and hanged between two dogs. In Spain and Portugal it became the fashion to burn these unhappy people. Later times have been more favorable to them, especially in Holland and England; where they are suffered to enjoy their riches, and all the rights of society, of which no one is deprived in those countries. They were even on the point of obtaining a general act of naturalization in England, in 1750, nay, the act had actually passed for that purpose; but, at length, the universal cry of the nation, and the ridicule that was cast upon the scheme, caused it to be repealed. Numberless were the burlesque prints and satirical writings published on this occasion, in some of which my lord Aaron and Viscount Judah were represented sitting in the house of lords; the people laughed, and the Jews comforted themselves with being rich and free.

It is no slight proof of the capriciousness of the human mind to see the descendants of Jacob carried in procession to be burned at Lisbon, and at the

same time candidates for the most distinguished privileges of a British subject. In Turkey they are neither burned nor admitted to honors; but they have made themselves sole masters of the commerce of that country, and neither the French, the Venetians, the English, nor the Dutch, can buy or sell there, but through the intervention of the Jews. It was an inevitable consequence of the legislation of this people that they were to be conquerors or slaves. They were commanded to hold every other nation in abhorrence, and to look upon themselves as defiled if they only ate out of the same dish with any one of a different faith. They gave the name of "the Nations" to about twenty or thirty small villages round about them, which they were determined to destroy, and with which they thought it a crime to have anything in common. When their eyes were a little opened by other victorious nations, who taught them to their cost that the world was larger than they imagined, their very law made them enemies to these nations, and, in short, to all mankind. They obstinately persevered in their absurd policy when it was to their interest to have changed it; their superstition increased with their misfortunes; and their conquerors were an uncircumcised people. A Jew thought himself as much forbidden to eat out of the same dish with a Roman as with an Amalekite. They retained all their customs, which were diametrically opposite to those of society in general; and accordingly they were

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deservedly treated as a people who set themselves up against all others.

BOHEMIANS, EGYPTIANS, AND GYPSIES.

There was at this time another petty nation as unsettled and as much scattered as the Jews, and who followed another method of rapine. These were a collection of strange people known in France by the name of Bohemians, in other countries they were called Egyptians, Gypsies, or Syrians, and in Italy Zingani, or Zingari. They wandered in troops or companies from one end of Europe to the other, with tabors and pipes, and castanets, dancing, singing, telling fortunes, showing tricks of legerdemain, curing diseases with certain cant words, and stealing everything that came in their way; they observed certain religious ceremonies among themselves, of which neither they nor any one else knew the meaning, or the origin. These people have dwindled away considerably of late years, since mankind have begun to throw off the infatuated notions of witchcraft, talismans, predictions, and possessions by evil spirits. There are still some few of them to be met with, but they have become very scarce. Nothing appears more probable than that those wretches were a remnant of the ancient priests and priestesses of Isis, intermixed with those of the goddess of the Assyrians. These wandering tribes, as much despised by the Romans as their ancestors

had formerly been revered, carried their ceremonies and their mercenary superstitions with them all over the world. True missionaries-errant of the faith they professed, they ran from province to province to make converts of those upon whom mere chance had confirmed their predictions, or who, having recovered by the course of nature from some slight disorders, imagined they owed their cure to the miraculous efficacy of certain unintelligible words and signs of these false prophets. The description which Apuleius gives us of these vagabond prophets and prophetesses is the very picture of what those wandering tribes, called Bohemians or gypsies, have for a long time been in every country in Europe. Their castanets and tabor and pipe are the cymbals and crotals of the Isean and Syrian priests. Apuleius, who spent most of his life in searching after religious and magic secrets, speaks of the predictions, talismans, ceremonies, dances, and songs of these pilgrim priests, and, in particular, remarks their great skill in stealing whatever came in their way, either in the court-yards, or houses, where they were admitted.

When Christianity took the place of the religion of Numa, and after Theodosius had destroyed the famous temple of Serapis in Egypt, some of the Egyptian priests joined themselves to those of the goddess Cybele, and the goddess of the Assyrians, and went about begging alms, in the same manner as has been since practised by our mendicant friars;

but as they could not expect any assistance from the Christians, they found it necessary to add the trade of quack-doctors to that of pilgrim, and practised chiromancy or palmistry, and formed several singular dances. Mankind loved to be amused and deceived, and therefore these offsprings of the ancient priests have continued even to the present time. Such has been the end of the ancient religion of Isis and Osiris, whose very names still impress respect. This religion, altogether emblematic and highly venerable, in its origin as early as the days of Cyrus, degenerated into a medley of ridiculous and superstitious customs. It fell into still greater contempt under the Ptolemys, and, in the time of the Romans, was in a state of the utmost abjection; and, at length, has been wholly left to a band of thieves and pickpockets. The same fate perhaps will attend the Jews, when civil society becomes more improved, and every nation carries on its own trade, without any longer sharing the fruits of their labor and industry with those wandering brokers; then, I say, the Jewish race must naturally diminish. The more wealthy among them begin already to despise the superstitions of their own sect, and, in a short time, they will be left wholly to themselves; a people destitute of arts and laws, and when they are no longer permitted to fatten on our indolence, they will be unable to keep up a separate society: for want of practice, they will forget their old jargon, which is no other than a corrupt medley

of Hebrew and Syriac; and, lost even to the knowledge of their own books, they will in time be confounded among the dregs of the people, with whom they live.

ITALY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

From the affair of the assassination of the Medici family, we may form a clear idea of the spirit and manner of these times; Sixtus IV. was then sovereign pontiff. I shall not here enter into an inquiry, as Machiavelli has done, whether the Riarios, whom he caused to pass for his nephews, were his own children or not; nor with Michael Brutus, whether he begot them while he was only a Cordelier friar? It is sufficient to lead us to the knowledge of facts that we are certain that he sacrificed one of these supposed nephews to the interests of Jerome Riario. We have elsewhere observed that the jurisdiction of the holy see was not by a great deal so extensive as it is at present. Sixtus IV. wanted to strip the lords of Imola and Friuli of their possessions to enrich Jerome. The two brothers Medici supported these princes with money and forces. The pope thought he could not secure his authority in Italy, but by the ruin of the Medici family. A banker of Florence, named Piazzi, who had settled at Rome and who was an enemy to the two brothers, offered his service to the pope to get them assassinated. Cardinal Raphael Riario, Jerome's

brother, was sent to Florence to manage the plot, of which Salviati, archbishop of that city, had already formed the plan; and Stephano, a dependent of the archbishop, assumed the execution of it. The conspirators pitched upon a day that a grand festival was to be held in the Church of Santa Reparata, for the massacre of the Medici and their friends, in the manner that the assassins of Galeas Sforza had made choice of the cathedral of Milan, and the festival of St. Stephen, to murder that prince at the foot of the altar. The instant of the elevation of the host was the time pitched upon to strike the blow, as then, the people being prostrate, and attentive to the appearance of their God, were not in a condition to obstruct the execution. Accordingly, at that very moment, Julian de Medici was stabbed by a brother of Piazzi, and other of the conspirators. Lorenzo de Medici was wounded by Stephano, but not so mortally but that he had strength enough to take refuge in the sacristy, or vestry.

When we see a pope, an archbishop, and a priest, meditating such a crime, and choosing for the perpetration of it the very instant when their God shows himself to them in his temple, we cannot doubt the atheism of those times. Certainly, if they had thought that their Creator did really appear to them under the form of the consecrated bread, they would not have dared to offer him an insult to him: but history shows us that though the common people adored this sacrament, the

dees and statesmen laughed at it. They thought like the ancient Romans in the time of Cæsar; and from the force of their own passions concluded there was no religion. They all made use of this horrible argument: Men have taught us nothing but falsehoods, therefore there cannot be a God. Thus the religion of nature was stifled in the hearts of almost all those who governed in those days; and no age ever produced so many murders, poisonings, treasons, and debauchery of all kind.

The people of Florence, who loved the family of Medici, revenged their deaths, with interest, on the bloody perpetrators. The bishop was hanged at one of the windows of the public palace. Lorenzo had the generosity, or prudence, to save the life of the cardinal's nephew, whom the enraged people were going to put to death, at the foot of that very altar which he had himself stained with blood, and whither he now fled for safety.

One extraordinary circumstance attending this conspiracy was, that Bernard Bendini, one of the assassins, who had retired into Turkey, was afterward delivered up to Lorenzo de Medici, by order of Sultan Bajazet; who thus became an instrument of punishing a crime of which Pope Sixtus had been the author. But, what was less extraordinary, the pope excommunicated the Florentines for having punished a bloody conspiracy, and even began war against them for it, which was happily terminated by the prudence of Medici. You may see by this

what purposes religion and the papal censure was made to serve in those days — days that teemed with crimes whose heinousness exceeded the utmost stretch of imagination.

Lorenzo de Medici equalled the great Cosmo in liberality, and surpassed him in magnificence. Florence might then be said to resemble ancient Athens. There were, at one and the same time, the prince Pico of Mirandola, Politian, Marsilio Ficino, Landino, Lascaris, Calcondillo, Marcillo, whom Lorenzo had gathered about him, and who were perhaps superior to the seven sages of Greece, so much boasted of in history.

His son, Peter, like him, held the supreme authority in Florence, and was almost sovereign of Tuscany, at the time the French made their expedition to Naples; but he was in much less credit than either of his predecessors or descendants.

LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY.

In 1508, almost all the powers who were at enmity with each other suspended their disputes to join in the general league, set on foot at Cambray, against the Venetians. The Turk, who was the natural enemy of this republic, but then at peace with her, was the only power who did not accede to this treaty. Never were so many kings in league against ancient Rome. Venice was as rich as all the con-

federates together. To this resource she trusted, and to that dissension which she rightly judged would speedily ensue among so many confederates. It was in her power to pacify Julius II., who was the chief promoter of this league; but she disdained to make any concession, and boldly waited the coming of the storm. This was perhaps the only time this republic was rich.

JULIUS II. VS. LOUIS XIV.

The operations of Julius II. against Louis XIV. were begun on the side of Bologna and Ferrara. Julius II. had already taken Bologna from the Bentivoglios, and he wanted to make himself master of Ferrara. By these invasions he destroyed the design he had formed of driving all strangers out of Italy; for the people of Bologna and Ferrara, upon seeing themselves attacked, naturally had recourse to the French for assistance against him, who, after having been the avenger of Italy, had become its oppressor. His ambition, which had overweighed all other considerations, plunged Italy into those calamities, from which it would have been his glory to have delivered her, and suffered his interest so far to get the better of prudence and decency as to admit into Bologna a numerous body of Turks, who had come thither against the French army, commanded by Chaumont d'Amboise. We are indebted for the knowledge of this singular fact to Paul

Jove, bishop of Nocera, who was an eye-witness thereof. Several former popes had taken up arms against the Turks. Julius was the first who made use of their assistance.

CUSTOMS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

The Greek comedy and tragedy were revived as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, the former by Cardinal Bibbiena, and the latter by Trissino, archbishop of Beneventum. Rucellai soon followed the archbishop. Some of the best pieces of Plautus were translated at Venice, and into verse, as was proper, since it was in verse that Plautus wrote them. They were performed with success on the Venetian stage, and in those monasteries where polite learning was cultivated.

The Italians imitated the Greek tragedians and Latin comedians, but could not equal them. However, they invented a new kind of pastoral, in which they had no guide, and wherein they have never been surpassed. The "*Aminta*" of Tasso, and Guarini's "*Pastor Fido*," still continue to be the delight of all who understand the Italian tongue.

Almost all the civilized nations of Europe began at that time to see the necessity of encouraging the theatrical art, which promotes society, softens the manners, and inculcates morality under the veil of pleasure. The Spaniards came somewhat near to

the Italians, but they could not produce anything regular. There was a theatre in England, but it was still more wild and irregular than that of the Spaniards. Shakespeare, indeed, brought it into some degree of credit toward the end of the sixteenth century. His genius pierced through the barbarous darkness of the times, as that of Lope de Vega did in Spain. It is much to be lamented that we find so much more barbarism than real genius in the works of Shakespeare: whence comes it that almost every one in Stockholm and St. Petersburg knows whole scenes of the "*Pastor Fido*" by heart, while those of Shakespeare have never passed the limits of their sea-girt island? The reason is obvious; real merit will be sought after by all nations; a people whose drama, music and painting were adapted only to their own taste, and exploded by every other polite nation, could not justly flatter themselves with having the gift of good taste.

The Italians were particularly successful in those poetical productions which were remarkable for their great length, which we would imagine were the most difficult of all, on account of the constant sameness of the verse, and stanzas, which seems to be a cramp to their genius.

PRINTING IN THE SIXTEENTH
CENTURY.

In 1474 the parliament ordered all the books which had been brought to Paris, by a factor from Mentz, to be seized.

Certainly a step of this kind would not have been taken in the more enlightened times; but such has always been the fate of public bodies, the most learned for their wisdom, who have acted on no other foundation than that of ancient forms and customs. Everything that has the appearance of an innovation startles them. They stand up in opposition to the rising arts, withstand every truth that seems contradictory to the errors in which they have been trained from their youth, and combat everything that does not fall in with the taste and manners of old times. It was this very kind of spirit that influenced the same parliament so long, and so vehemently, to oppose the reformation of the calendar; to forbid the teaching of any other tenets than those of Aristotle; to prohibit the administration of Venato; that obliged the court to issue several letters of Jussieu; to make them register the patent of nobility granted to one of the Montmorency family, and that induced them to oppose, for a considerable time, the establishment of the French academy. As no one single member of a public body is responsible for the proceedings of that body, the most irrational councils sometimes pass uncon-

tradicted. This made the duke of Sully say, in his "Memoirs," "If Wisdom were to descend to earth, she would rather fix her residence in the head than in those of a collective body."

Louis XI., who never acted badly, where his interest was not concerned, and who was always governed by reason, when not blinded by his passions, took this affair from the parliament; he would not suffer the French nation to be forever dishonored by prohibiting the art of printing; but ordered the artists of Mentz to be paid the full price of their books.

About a hundred artists of every kind formed that age, which the Italians distinguished by the name of the Seicento. Several of these great geniuses were unfortunate, and were persecuted; but posterity has avenged their memories. Their age, like all other ages, produced crimes and calamities, but had that advantage over other ages which superiority of genius always bestows. Thus it happened with the age that produced Sophocles and Demosthenes, and with that which gave the world a Virgil and a Cato. These men who, in their respective spheres, were the preceptors of the world, could not keep Alexander from killing Clytus, nor Augustus from signing prescriptions. Neither could Racine, Corneille, and La Fontaine, prevent Louis XIV. from committing great faults. Crimes and disasters

have been the produce of every age; fine arts have had only four.

FRANCIS I. 'AT LIBERTY.

Henry d'Albret, who was kept a prisoner in Pavia, found means to escape, and returned to France. Francis I., by being better guarded in Madrid, was obliged to purchase his liberty, by ceding to the emperor the whole duchy of Burgundy, a part of Franche-Comté, all the places he laid claim to on the other side of the Alps, the lordships of Flanders and Artois, the towns of Arras, Lille, Tournay, Mortagne, Hedin, St. Arnent, and Ochie; and, to complete his humiliation, he married, while in prison, the sister of the emperor, his conqueror. The count de Lanoy, one of the emperor's generals, who had taken him prisoner, entered his apartment, booted, to compel him to sign this forced contract of marriage. The Treaty of Madrid proved as fatal as that of Bretigny had been; but Francis I., when at liberty, did not, like King John, fulfil his engagements.

This unfortunate affair redounded little to the glory of Francis I. He had given his promise to Charles V. to put him in possession of Burgundy, a promise made with weakness, and falsified with reason, though with disgrace. He underwent a severe reproach from the emperor for his breach of

faith; and though he replied, "You lie in your throat, and every time you say so, you lie," the law of policy was for Francis; but the law of chivalry was against him.

In 1535, Francis I. caused a number of poor Lutherans to be burned at Paris. Father Daniel puts in the margin of his history, "An Example of Piety." This example of piety consisted in suspending the poor victims on a high gallows, from which they were lowered several times into the fire, till they were thus gradually consumed. This was an example indeed, but of the most refined barbarity, and that fills us with as much horror against the historians who praise it, as against the judges who ordered it.

It is moreover said that Francis declared publicly that he would put his own children to death if they were heretics; and yet, in the height of these very proceedings, he wrote to the famous Melanchthon, one of the founders of the Lutheran religion, inviting him to his court.

Charles V. gave an example of a very different conduct. Although the Lutherans were his professed enemies, so far was he from delivering torches into the hands of the executioners, or loading Christians with chains, that, on the contrary, he delivered from their captivity in Tunis 18,000 Christian slaves, Protestants as well as Catholics.

THE GENEVANS.

The Genevans maintained that a bishop has no right to sovereign authority; that the apostles were not princes; and that if, during the times of anarchy and barbarism, bishops had usurped the dominion of provinces, the people in more enlightened times had an undoubted right to take them from them again.

CHARLES V. AND FRANCIS I.

There were many horrible transactions in 1536, and some that were ridiculous.

Francis, the dauphin, son of Francis I., died of pleurisy. One Montecuculi, an Italian, his cup-bearer, is accused of having poisoned him, and Charles V. is universally looked upon as the author of this murder. But what advantage could the emperor have reaped by procuring the death of a prince of only eighteen years of age, who had never made any noise in the world, and who, moreover, had a brother? However, Montecuculi was drawn asunder by horses. This is the horrible part of the affair; now for the ridiculous:

Francis I., who, by the Treaty of Madrid, was no longer lord of Artois and Flanders, and who was set at liberty only on condition of relinquishing that title, caused the emperor to be summoned to appear

before the Parliament of Paris, in quality of count of Flanders and Artois, his vassal. The attorney-general, Cappel, took out a decree against Charles for non-appearance, and the parliament declared him a rebel.

FREDERICK BARBAROSSA.

Barbarossa, in 1543, exercised absolute authority in Toulon. He caused a great house to be converted into a Turkish mosque; thus the same king who had suffered so many Christians of the Lutheran faith to perish in his kingdom by the most cruel torments, permitted the Mahometans the free exercise of their religion within his dominions. This is the piety so praised by Father Daniel; and thus it is that historians disgrace their characters. A historian who was at the same time a good member of society would have acknowledged that maxims of state had made it necessary to burn the Lutherans, and show countenance to the Mahometans.

DEATH OF FRANCIS I.

Under Francis I. France began to emerge from barbarism, and its language became more refined. There are still extant some of the productions of those times, which, if they have not all the regularity requisite, have at least the merit of a sprightly simplicity; such are the epigrams of the

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bishop St. Gelais, Clement Marot, and Francis I. himself. The following lines were written by him under a picture of the famous Agnes Sorel:

*Gentille Agnès plus d'honneur en mérite,
La cause étant de France recouvrer,
Que ce que peut dedans un cloître ouvrier
Close nonnain ou bien dévot hermite.*

He likewise composed memoirs on military discipline, at the time he was endeavoring to establish in France the Roman legions; but he was obliged to fetch painters, sculptors, and architects from Italy.

He proposed building the palace of the Louvre, but he had scarce time to lay the first stone. His magnificent design of a royal college could not be executed, but, nevertheless, his bounty established schools for teaching the Greek and Hebrew languages and geometry, which the universities were not able to teach. There was not a single person in France, before his time, who could so much as read the Greek characters.

In the schools, in the courts of justice, in the public acts, and in private contracts, they made use of no other than a bad Latin, called the Latin of the middle age, which was a remnant of the ancient barbarous dialect of the Franks, Lombards, Germans, Goths, and English, who knew neither how to form a regular language, nor how to speak good Latin.

Rudolph of Hapsburg had ordered in Germany that all pleadings and decrees should be in the language of the country. The same custom was estab-

lished in Castile, by Alphonso the Wise, and by Edward III. in England. At length Francis I. also ordered that those who had the misfortune to be engaged in lawsuits should at least have the satisfaction of reading their ruin in their own mother-tongue. But the refinement of the French tongue was not owing to this order; it is to the spirit of the king and his court that we are indebted for this improvement.

CHARLES V.

It has been said of Charles V., in 1558, that his brain was hurt by his retirement in the monastery of Yuste; and indeed his passing his time in hanging and unhangings pendulums, and in teasing the novices, in playing the farce of his own interment, in wrapping himself up in a winding-sheet, and in chanting forth his own funeral anthem, was no great proof of a sound mind. The man who had made Europe and Africa tremble, and who had repulsed the conqueror of Persia, died mad. His whole family were instances of the excess of human weakness.

His grandfather, Maximilian, wanted to be made pope. His mother, Joan, went mad, and was confined, and he shut himself up among a parcel of monks, where he died as mad as his mother.

But here let us not forget that Pope Paul IV. would never acknowledge as emperor Ferdinand I.,

in whose favor his brother Charles had resigned the royal dignity. This pontiff pretended that Charles had no power to abdicate without his permission. The archbishop, elector of Mentz, chancellor of the empire, issued all his acts and decrees in the name of Charles V., to the day of that prince's death. This is the final epoch of the pretensions which the popes had so long set up to the disposal of the empire. Had we not already seen so many examples of these pretensions, we should be apt to imagine that Paul IV. had his brain more injured than even Charles V.

LEO X.

In the hundred articles of complaint exhibited some time before by the imperial diet, during the reign of Maximilian I., against the abuses of the Church, there is one that charges the bishops with selling to the inferior clergy, for the yearly payment of one crown, the right of keeping a mistress, which sum was to be paid whether they made use of this indulgence or not.

The birth of learning in part of Germany, in London, and afterward in Paris, in consequence of the improvement of the art of printing, laid the foundation for the ruin of the ecclesiastical monarchy. Certain natives of lower Germany, whom the Italians had always held as barbarians, were the first to accustom the minds of the people to

diffuse what had once been the object of their veneration. Erasmus, notwithstanding he had himself been for a considerable time a monk, rather for that very reason, exposed these gentry in so ridiculous a light in most of his writings that they were never able to get the better of it. The author of "Letters of Obscure Men" diverted all Germany at the expense of the Italians. The latter, till that time, thought the Germans not capable of being even good jokers; but they were now cured of their error, and the German pleasantry prepared the way for a revolution that proved of the most serious consequence to Italy.

LUTHER.

You may have observed that all the disputes about religion came hitherto from the priest, for Pietro Valdo, the merchant of Lyons, who passes for the author of the sect of the Vaudois, was not disputatious; he only assembled together his brethren, and encouraged them to persist in what they had begun. He himself was a follower of the doctrine of Bérenger, of Charles, bishop of Turin, and of several others of the same opinion; and it was not till after Luther's time that such crowds of laymen began to take up the business of teachers, in consequence of the various translations of the Bible, which, as they differed in their interpretations,

gave rise to as many different opinions as there were different passages to explain.

The Lutherans wanted new versions of the Bible, in all the modern languages, and that these versions should be purged from all the inaccuracies and errors with which the Vulgate is charged. In fact, when the council set about printing the common version, the six persons appointed to superintend the work discovered no less than eight thousand faults in the old version, and several learned men pretended there were many more; so that at length the council declared the Vulgate version to be authentic, without being at the pains of the proposed correction. The present German Bible was translated by Luther from the original Hebrew; but it is said he knew very little of Hebrew, and that his translation is much more faulty than the Vulgate.

Luther insisted that all monastic vows should be set aside, because not of primitive institution; that priests should be allowed to marry, because some of the apostles had married wives; that the laity should partake of the cup, because Jesus said, "Drink, all of ye;" that no worship should be paid to images, because Christ worshipped no image. In a word, he agreed with the Church of Rome in no points but those of the trinity, baptism, the incarnation, and the resurrection; points which, never-

theless, had been formerly subjects of the sharpest disputes, and some of them had been actually controverted in late days, so that there is no one point of devotion concerning which mankind have not been divided at one time or another.

Had both sides confined themselves to invectives and abuse, Luther would have done less hurt to the Church of Rome than Erasmus; but some bold doctors having joined Luther, raised their voices, and began to exclaim not only against the dogmas of schools, but also against the right which the popes, ever since the time of Gregory VII., had assumed to themselves, of disposing of kingdoms. They likewise inveighed against the shameful traffic made of everything belonging to religion, against public and private oppression, and both in their writings and from their pulpits drew a moving picture of five hundred years of persecution. They represented Germany bathed in blood through the quarrels between the diadem and the tiara, the people treated like wild beasts, and heaven opened or shut for money, by wretches guilty of incest, murder, and poisoning. With what face, said they, could Alexander VI., the horror and scandal of human kind, dare to call himself the vicar of God? or how could Leo X., sunk in the most shameful pleasure, presume to take that title?

The people were at length awakened by these repeated cries, and the German doctors stirred up

a greater hatred against new Rome than ever Varus had done against the old in the same country.

ZUINGLIUS.

When we see a people, of all in Europe the least restless and changeable, quit on a sudden one religion to embrace another, there must certainly have been some particular cause to make so violent an impression on all minds. That which brought about so sudden a revolution in the opinions of the people of Switzerland, was as follows :

The orders of Franciscans and Dominicans had been at open enmity with each other, ever since the thirteenth century. The latter had lost a great part of their credit with the people on account of their not paying so much honor to the Virgin Mary as their antagonists, the Cordeliers or Franciscans, and because, with St. Thomas d'Aquinas, the monk, they denied that she had been born without sin. The Franciscans, on the other hand, gained ground daily by preaching upon all occasions the doctrine of immaculate conception, maintained by St. Bonaventura. The mutual hatred and animosity between these two orders was so great that, in the year 1503, a Franciscan being one day preaching at Frankfort on the subject of the blessed Virgin, and seeing a Dominican enter the church, he cried out in the midst of his sermon that he blessed God he was not of that order

which depreciated the mother of God, and poisoned kings and emperors with the consecrated elements. The Dominican, whose name was Vigan, replied with a loud voice that the Franciscan was a liar and a heretic. Upon this the Franciscan quit his pulpit, gathered the people together, and drove his enemy out of the church, after beating him in such a manner with a crucifix that he was left dead at the door. The next year, 1504, the Dominicans held a chapter of their order at Wimpfen, in which it was resolved to take vengeance on the Franciscans, and to destroy their credit, and even their doctrine, by bringing the Virgin Mary herself into the field against them. Berne was fixed upon to be the theatre of this scene. They began by spreading reports for three years together of the mother of God having appeared several times to different persons, reproaching the Franciscans with their doctrine of immaculate conception, which she said was horrible blasphemy, and tended to rob her son of the glory of having cleansed her from original sin and the power of hell. The Franciscans, on their part, were not behind hand in opposing other apparitions. But at length, in the year 1507, the Dominicans having brought over a young lay brother, called Jetzer, made him their instrument to work upon the minds of the people. It was an established opinion in the convents of all orders, that if a novice quitted the habit, and did not make his profession, his soul remained in purgatory till the last judgment, unless

it was released by prayers, or alms given to the convent.

The prior of the convent, who was a Dominican, entered Jetzer's cell in the night, in a habit painted with devils, a great chain about his middle, leading four dogs, and casting flames out of his mouth by means of a little round box filled with the pickings of flax, and set on fire. This horrible figure told the half-scared Jetzer that he was a monk who in former times had quitted his habit, for which his soul was thrown into purgatory, but that it might be delivered thence if Jetzer would consent to suffer himself to be flogged by the monks before the great altar. Jetzer complied without hesitating, and delivered the monk's soul from purgatory, who appeared to him a second time, clad in a white robe, and surrounded with glory, to show him that he was in heaven, and to recommend to him the cause of the blessed Virgin, whom the Franciscans reviled.

Some few nights after, St. Barbe, for whom brother Jetzer had a great veneration—that is, another monk dressed expressly for the purpose—told him that he was a saint, and that the holy Virgin had chosen him to avenge her cause against the damnable doctrine of the Cordeliers.

At length the Virgin herself descended into his cell through the ceiling, attended by two angels, and commanded him to declare to the world that she was born in original sin, and that the Cordeliers were the greatest enemies of her son; and

then she concluded by telling him that she would honor him with the five wounds with which St. Lucia and St. Catherine had been honored.

The next night, the monk having made the lay-brother drink heartily of wine, in which they had infused a quantity of opium, they pierced his hands, his feet, and his side, while he was asleep. When he awoke he found himself all over blood. The monks cried aloud that the holy Virgin had imprinted the stigma on him, and in this condition they exposed him at the altar to the view of the people.

However, weak as brother Jetzer was, he imagined he had distinguished the voice of the sub-prior in that of the blessed Virgin, and began to think the whole an imposture; upon which the monks, without further ceremony, resolved to poison him; and accordingly, when he came next to take the sacrament, they gave him a consecrated wafer which they had previously sprinkled thick with the powder of corrosive sublimate; the sharpness of which upon his tongue obliged him to spit out the wafer, and thereupon the monks instantly cried out, "Sacrilege," and loaded him with chains. To save his life, he promised upon another host that he would never reveal the secret: however, having found means some time afterward to make his escape out of the convent, he went and made a disclosure of the whole affair to a magistrate. The cause was two years pending; at the end of which time four Dominicans

were burned before the gate of Rome, May 31, 1509, in consequence of the sentence pronounced by a bishop sent from Rome for that purpose.

This adventure brought the monks into that abhorrence which they justly deserved; and those who began the reformation did not fail to revive the story with all the aggravations they could devise, never once reflecting that the author of this sacrilegious act had been punished by the see of Rome itself, in the most exemplary manner. In short, everything was forgotten but the action: the people who had been witnesses of this shocking affair were ready to believe every charge of profanation and sacrilege brought against the monks, especially those of the mendicant order, and in which the whole Church was included. If those who still adhered to the worship of the Church of Rome objected that the holy see was not answerable for the crimes of the monks, they were told of the vile actions of several popes, who had been a disgrace to their sacred character and function. Nothing is more easy than to render a whole body odious by a detail of the crimes of some of its members.

The opinion that it is sufficient to be virtuous to merit eternal happiness has been adopted by a great number of the learned men of our modern times; they have thought it abominable to look upon the father of all nature as a merciless tyrant to the greater part of humankind, and a loving father only

to a particular set of men in a few small countries. These learned men have doubtless been mistaken; but how humane is their error!

LUTHERANISM.

A power that had the right of always governing men in the name of God would soon make an ill use of that power. Mankind have often found themselves in religion as well as in government between a state of anarchy and tyranny, ready to fall into one or other of the gulfs.

The law by which a man is allowed only one wife is sometimes attended with fatal consequences, and may require certain exceptions, as well as many other laws. There are some cases in which the interest of families and even of the state seems to require a person to take a second wife during the lifetime of the first, where an heir is absolutely necessary and cannot be had by the first. The law of nature then acts in concert with the public good; and as the end of marriage is to have children, it seems a contradiction to prohibit the only means for attaining that end.

There was but one of all the popes who properly attended to this law of nature, namely, Gregory II., who in his famous "Decretal," published in 726, declared that "when a man had an infirm wife, who was incapable of performing the conjugal func-

tions, he might marry a second, provided he took proper care of the first." Luther went many steps beyond Pope Gregory II.

Trevor, lord-chancellor of England in the reign of Charles II., was privately married to a second wife, with the consent of the first. He wrote a small treatise in favor of polygamy, and lived perfectly happy with his two wives. But cases of this kind are extremely rare.

THE ANABAPTISTS..

Luther had been successful in stirring up the princes, nobles, and magistrates of Germany against the pope and the bishops. Münzer stirred up the peasants against them. He and his companions went about addressing themselves to the inhabitants of the country villages in Suabia, Meissen, Thuringia, and Franconia. They laid open that dangerous truth which is implanted in every breast, that all men are born equal; saying, that if the popes had treated the princes like their subjects, the princes had treated the common people like beasts.

It must be acknowledged that the manifesto published by these savages in the name of "the men who till the earth," might have been signed by Lycurgus. They demanded to be exempted from the payment of all tithes but that of corn; and that a part thereof might be applied to the support

of the poor; that they might be permitted to hunt and fish for their necessary subsistence; that air and water might be free; that their day-labor might be moderated; and that they might be allowed a little wood to warm themselves. They only claimed the rights common to mankind; but they supported their claim like savage beasts.

The cruelties which had been exercised by the common people in France and England in the reigns of Charles VI. and Henry V., were renewed in Germany, and blown into a fiercer flame by the breath of fanaticism. Münzer made himself master of the town of Mülhausen in Thuringia, and while he everywhere preached a general equality of rank and possessions, obliged the inhabitants to bring all their money and effects, and lay them at his feet. The peasants all took up arms from Saxony to Alsace. They murdered all the gentlemen that came in their way, and put to death a daughter of the emperor Maximilian I. One remarkable circumstance is that, like the slaves of old, who revolted from the Romans, and who, when they found themselves incapable of governing, chose for their king one of their masters, who had escaped the general slaughter, so these peasants put a gentleman at their head.

Such of the conspirators as could be found were put to death without mercy; and at that time all the Anabaptists throughout the United Provinces were treated as the Dutch had been by the Span-

iards; they were drowned, strangled, or burned; and, whether concerned in the conspiracy or not, whether factious or peaceable, they were fallen upon by the people of the Low Countries as monsters, of whom it was necessary to rid the earth.

The change in the manners of the Anabaptists is owing to their having joined the Unitarians, a sect that holds only one God but professes great reverence for Jesus Christ. They have neither dogmas nor controversies, and though held as reprobates by other communions, live in peace with them all.

RELIGION UNDER FRANCIS I.

Their chief object was that of a concordat like the Germanic concordat. The Germans, ever jealous of their privileges, had stipulated with Pope Nicholas V. that the election among the clergy should remain in full force through the whole German Empire; that they should pay no annats to Rome; that the pope should have only the right of nominating to certain canonships during six months in the year; and that those who were in possession should pay to the pope a certain sum then agreed upon. The rich German canonships were still looked upon as a great abuse by the civilians, and this fee paid to the see of Rome as no better than simony. It was according to them a burdensome and scandalous bargain to pay a sum to an Italian

prince for the privilege of enjoying a benefice in Germany or France. This kind of traffic seemed to stamp an infamy upon religion; and the political calculators proved it to be an error of the most capital kind for the subjects of France to send to Rome a yearly sum of four hundred thousand livres, at a time when their own trade did not bring them in so much as they lost by this pernicious contract. If the pope exacted this money in the light of a tribute it was not to be suffered; if only as a charitable donation, it was too much: but, in short, everything was done for money. Relics, indulgences, dispensations, benefices, all were sold to the highest bidder.

If religion was to be thus put up at auction it was better, no doubt, to turn this simony to the benefit of the state than to the profit of a bishop who was a stranger, and who, by the law of nature and nations, had no more right to receive the first year's profit of a benefice in France than of the revenue of China or the Indies.

This agreement, which at that time occasioned so many heart-burnings, was made just before the great rupture which happened between the whole North, all England, and part of Germany, and the see of Rome, which latter, in a short time, became more and more hated in France; and religion itself was in danger of suffering from the dislike which the Church of Rome had brought upon herself.

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This was for a long time the cry of all the magistrates, colleges, and universities; and these complaints were still further aggravated by the appearance of a bull issued by the voluptuous Leo X., in which the Pragmatic Sanction is called "the depravity of the kingdom of France."

An insult of this kind offered to a whole nation by a bull, in which St. Paul is quoted at the same time that money is demanded, still excites the indignation of the public.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

There reigned a most scandalous enmity between the old order of the Black Friars and the new one of the White. This jealousy resembled that between the green and blue factions in the Roman Empire; but it did not cause the same seditions.

The Franciscans, or Cordeliers, were the most numerous and busiest of any of the orders. Francis d'Assisi, who first founded this order in 1210, was at the same time the most simple and the most enthusiastic man in the world; fanaticism was the spirit of the times, and in some measure that of the lower class of the crusaders of the Vau-
dois and of the Albigenes. Francis therefore found a number of people of the same disposition as himself, and of these he formed a sect. We have already seen examples of his great zeal, and

that of his companions in the holy wars, where he proposed to the sultan of Egypt to turn Christian, and Friar Giles persisted so obstinately in preaching his faith to the people of Morocco.

Never were the extravagances of the human mind carried to so great a length as in the book of "The Conformity of St. Francis with Christ," which was written during his lifetime, and which was afterward reprinted with considerable additions by a Franciscan friar called Bartholomew Albici; in which book Christ is made to have been only the forerunner of Francis. In this book we find the story of the woman of snow, that St. Francis formed with his own hands; of his miraculous cure of the mad wolf, whom he made promise that he would never devour any more sheep; and that of a friar of their order, who, being made a bishop, was afterward deposed by the pope, and who, having died during his deposition, returned again to life, and carried a letter of rebuke to the same pope.

The Minims did neither hurt nor good. This order was founded by a man of weak judgment; one Francisco Martorillo, whom Louis XI. desired to prolong his life. This Martorillo, having made a rule in Calabria that his monks should eat everything with oil, because oil is to be had in that country for little or nothing, made the same rule for the monks whom he established in the northern

countries of France, where no olives grow, and where of consequence oil is sometimes so dear that eating it is a luxury rather than a mortification or economy.

THE JESUITS.

Pope Paul III., in the year 1540, published the bull of institution of the Jesuits, with an express clause that their number should never exceed sixty, notwithstanding which Ignatius before his death saw above a thousand in his order. At length he suffered his enthusiastic zeal to be a little governed by discretion. His book of spiritual exercises, which was to serve as a directory to his disciples, was indeed altogether romantic. He there represents God as the general of an army, and the Jesuits as his captains. But a person may write very badly and yet govern well. He was assisted by Lainez and Salmeron, who, having acquired some skill in these matters, assisted him in composing the rules of his order. Francis de Borgia, grandson of Pope Alexander VI., and nephew of Cæsar Borgia, one as weak and fanatic as his grandfather and uncle were wicked and deceitful, entered into the order of the Jesuits, and was the first who procured it its riches and credit. Francis Xavier, by his mission to the Indies and Japan, rendered it famous. The ardor, obstinacy, and mixture of enthusiasm and insinuation, which is the character of every new institution, gained the Jesuits a recep-

tion in almost all states, notwithstanding the vehement oppositions they had to encounter. They could not, however, establish themselves in France till 1561, and then only on condition that they should never take the name of Jesuits, and should be subject to the authority of the bishops. The name of Jesuit was thought too pompous. They were reproached with endeavoring to arrogate to themselves alone a title common to all Christians, and the vows they took to the pope gave cause of jealousy.

We should not certainly attribute to their institution, or to the effect of a determined and general plan, always kept in view, the crimes which, through the fatality of the times, some of this order have been led to commit. It certainly was not the fault of Ignatius that Matthew Guignard, Gueret, and several other of the Jesuits, both wrote and caballed against Henry IV. with so much fury, or that those of their order have since been driven out of Portugal for rebellion and regicide, any more than it was the fault of the founder of the Dominican order that one of that body poisoned Henry VII., in giving him the sacrament, and that another assassinated Henry III. of France. Nor is St. Benedict to be charged with the death of the duke of Guienne, brother of Louis XI., who was poisoned by a Benedictine monk. No religious

order whatever was originally founded with criminal, or even political views.

NUNS.

In 458, Pope St. Leo, whose memory is still held in the greatest esteem, ordered, conjointly with other bishops, that no single woman should be permitted to take the veil before she was forty years of age, and the emperor Majorianus made this wise law of the Church a law of State. An imprudent zeal, however, destroyed in time what wisdom and prudence had established.

THE POLITE ARTS.

True philosophy did not make so great a progress in France as it did in England and Florence; and though the Academy of Sciences was particularly serviceable to human nature, it did not set the character of France above that of other nations; all the noblest inventions and great truths had their rise elsewhere.

But in eloquence, poetry, and polite learning, in books of morality and entertainment, the French must be considered as the legislators of Europe. There was no longer any taste in Italy. True eloquence was everywhere unknown; religion was ridiculously delivered from the pulpit; and the pleadings at the bar were as bad. Virgil and Ovid

were quoted by the preachers; St. Jerome and St. Augustine by the lawyers. No man had yet appeared, of genius sufficient to polish the French tongue, to enrich it with harmony, propriety of expression and dignity. That it was capable of grandeur and force was indeed evident from some verses of Malherbe; but this was all. President de Thou, Chancellor de L'Hôpital, and other celebrated writers, who had expressed themselves to such advantage in the Latin language, made but a poor figure in their native tongue; it was too much for them to manage. The French was as yet only valuable for a certain air of simplicity, in which solely consisted the merits of Joinville, Amiot, Marot, Montaigne, Regnier, and the satire "*Ménippée*"; nor was this simplicity unincumbered by irregularity and rusticity. John de Lingendes, bishop of Mâcon, at present unknown, because his works were never printed, was the first orator who declaimed with sublimity. His sermons and funeral orations, though somewhat obscured by the rust of the time in which he lived, were models for those by whom he was imitated and surpassed. In 1630, he pronounced the funeral oration of Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, surnamed, in his own country, the Great. It abounded with such fine strokes of eloquence, that Fléchier long after took from it the exordium, text, and many passages, to adorn his famous funeral oration on the viscount de Turenne.

It was about this time that Balzac gave measure and harmony to prose. His letters are, it is true, often bombastic. He writes to the first Cardinal de Retz: "You are come from taking the sceptre of kings and the livery of roses." Speaking of perfumed waters, in a letter from Rome to Boisrobert, "I have escaped by swimming in my chamber through the midst of perfumes." With all these faults he charms the ear; such power has eloquence over the mind of man that Balzac was now admired for having found out that small portion of this art, so necessary, yet so little known, which directs a harmonious choice of words; and he was even praised for having often misplaced them.

Voiture gave some idea of the light graces of that epistolary style, which is by no means the best, because it consists only of pleasantry. It is owing to a trifling imagination, that in his two volumes of letters not one of them is instructive, or seems to come from the heart. None of them depict the manners of the times, the characters of men. They are rather an abuse than exercise of genius.

The language was refined by degrees, and obtained something of a fixed form. We are for this obliged to the academy of sciences, and particularly to Vaugelas. The first well-written book was his translation of "Quintus Curtius," which was published in 1646; and wherein, even now, there are but few obsolete phrases and expressions. Oliver Patru, who follows next, contributed much

to regulate and refine the language; and though he was not deemed a profound lawyer, we owe to him order, perspicuity, and elegance of harangue, merits absolutely unknown at the bar. The little collection of maxims written by Francis, duke of Rochefoucauld, was one of the works that contributed to form the taste of the nation, to communicate a spirit of precision and propriety; though in this book there is scarcely more than this one truth: "Self-love is the *primum mobile* of all our actions." Yet this one thought appears in such various lights that it is always striking. It is rather a collection of materials to adorn a book than a book itself. It was read with eagerness; it accustomed us to think, and to comprise our thoughts in a spirited, determinate, delicate turn of phrase. No other writer in Europe could boast this merit since the revival of letters. But the first book of genius that appeared in prose was the collection of "Provincial Letters," in 1654. Herein may be found every species of eloquence; though a hundred years have passed since that publication, not a single word occurs in it savoring of that change and alteration to which living languages are so very liable. With this work then we may fix the epoch when our language obtained a settled form. The bishop of Luçon, son of the celebrated Bussi, told me, that having asked Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, of what work he would have chosen to be the author, setting his own

performances out of the question, he answered, the "Provincial Letters."

The fine taste which runs through the whole of this book, and the strength of the last letters, were not yet of force sufficient to correct that dispirited, diffuse, incorrect, harsh style, which had been so long in use with our writers, preachers, and lawyers.

A new light arose in 1668. This was Father Bourdaloue; he was the first who maintained in the pulpit a noble uniformity of eloquence. Other orators have since appeared in the pulpit, as Massillon, bishop of Clermont, in whose sermons are found more graces, more delicate and masterly pictures of the manners of the age; but none of them can eclipse Bourdaloue. In his style, more nervous than florid, without appealing to fancy for expression, he seems rather to aim at convincing than inflaming; and he never labors to please. Perhaps it were to be wished, that in banishing from the pulpit that false taste whereby it had been so long debased, he had also suppressed the custom of preaching upon one text. In reality, to speak for a good while upon a quotation of one or two lines, to weary oneself in accommodating the whole discourse to that single line, seems to be a play on words little suiting the gravity of a divine. The text is a kind of device or enigma, to be explained by the sermon. This custom was unknown to the Greeks and Romans; it arose upon the decline of letters, and has been made sacred by time.

The method of always dividing into two or three points things that in themselves require no division, as morality; or that require to be more minutely divided, as controversy, is an arbitrary custom which this great preacher found established, and with which he chose to conform.

Bossuet, afterward bishop of Meaux, had preceded him. He, who proved afterward so great a man, was at first intended for the bar, and was betrothed when very young to Mademoiselle Desvieux, a lady of extraordinary merit. But his talents for divinity, and for that kind of eloquence whereby he is particularly distinguished, appeared so very early, that his relatives and friends resolved to bequeath him rather to the Church. Mademoiselle Desvieux interested herself in determining him in this point, preferring his glory to the happiness of spending her life with him. In 1662, being yet very young, he preached before the king and the queen-mother; this was long before Father Bourdaloue was known. His discourses, animated by a noble and affecting manner, were the first which had been delivered at court with any marks of sublimity; and they were so well received that the king caused a letter to be written in his own name to Bossuet's father, the intendant of Soissons, congratulating him on the merit of his son.

Nevertheless, Monsieur Bossuet was no longer esteemed the first preacher when Father Bourdaloue appeared. The former had applied himself to

the composition of funeral orations; a species of eloquence which admits of being adorned by imagination, and which requires a majestic grandeur bordering upon poetry, from which it must borrow somewhat, though restricted when it aims at the sublime. In 1667, he pronounced the funeral oration of the queen-mother, and it procured him the bishopric of Condom: it was a performance unworthy of him, and was never printed; nor were his sermons. The funeral eulogium upon the queen of England, widow of Charles I., which he delivered in 1669, is allowed to be a masterpiece. The subjects in these pieces of eloquence are happy in proportion to the misfortunes sustained by the personages whom they celebrate. It is in these pieces of writing as in tragedy, where we are interested in the principal characters, in proportion as their misfortunes increase. His funeral oration upon the duchess of Orleans, who was snatched away in the flower of her youth, and may be said to have expired in his arms, had the great and uncommon effect of melting the whole court into tears: he was obliged to stop at these words: O disastrous night! night teeming with horror and confusion, in which the astonishing news of madame's death burst upon us like a clap of thunder." His auditors were filled with grief, and the voice of the orator was for some time lost in their tears and their sighs.

The French succeeded in this kind of eloquence only. A new one was soon after invented by the

same man, which in any other hand could scarcely have succeeded. He applied the charms of oratory to history itself, the simplicity of which seems to exclude such assistance. His discourse on universal history, written for the use of the dauphin, is without model or imitation. If he has been opposed by the learned in the system which he adopts for reconciling the Jewish chronology to that of other nations, nevertheless his style has been universally admired. The world was astonished by that majestic force with which he describes manners and government, the rise and fall of vast empires, and those rapid strokes of energetic truth with which he paints the manners, and judges the nations.

Almost all the works which reflect so much honor on this age were of a species unknown to antiquity. Among them is "Telemachus." This extraordinary book, in which the powers of romance and poetry unite, the style of which is a measured prose bordering upon versification, was composed by Fénelon, the disciple and friend of Bossuet; though afterward, much against his will, he became his rival and his enemy. One would think Fénelon had a mind to treat romance as the bishop of Meaux had done history, by enduing it with dignity and charms before unknown; but more especially by drawing from these fictions a moral that might be useful to mankind; a moral till then entirely neglected in every fabulous invention. It has been generally believed he composed this work to serve as themes

of instruction to the duke of Burgundy and the two other children of France, he being their preceptor, as Bossuet had formed his universal history to help the education of the dauphin; but I was assured of the contrary by the marquis de Fénelon, the nephew of this great man, who inherited all his virtues, and was killed at the battle of Rocoux. Nor does it indeed seem probable that the first lessons furnished by a priest to the children of France should be the loves of Calypso and Eucharis.

It was after he received orders to retire to his diocese of Cambray that he composed this performance. Well-read in the ancients, and blessed with a strong and glowing imagination, he formed a style peculiar to himself, and he wrote it with infinite ease. I have seen the original manuscript; there are not ten blots in the whole. It is pretended that the first impression was from a copy stolen by one of his domestics. If this be the case, the archbishop owes all the reputation which he has acquired to this breach of trust; but to the same cause he is indebted for being ever after out of favor at court. Some people have imagined they could trace in "Telemachus" an indirect critique against the government of Louis XIV. Sesostris, too haughty in his triumphs; Idomeneus, who confirmed the reign of luxury in Salentum, and neglected economy, were thought striking portraits of that monarch; yet, after all, it was impossible for him to have had a superfluity without an extraordinary cultivation of

the most essential and necessary arts. His minister, Louvois, was found by the malcontents in the character of Protesilaus, who is represented as vain, intractable, haughty, and an enemy to those great generals who chose to serve the state and not the minister.

The allies, who, in the war of 1688, united against Louis XIV., and who in 1701 shook his throne, traced his character with infinite pleasure in that Idomeneus, whose haughtiness had rendered him odious to all his neighbors. These allusions made a deeper impression, because of the harmony of the style, which so gently insinuates moderation and concord. Even the French themselves, as well as strangers, tired out with so many wars, found a malicious consolation in tracing a satire of this kind through a book meant to inculcate the principles of virtue. The editions of it were innumerable; I have seen fourteen in English. It is true, that after the death of this monarch, so feared, so envied, so respected by all, so hated by some, the malignity of mankind ceased to point out those pretended allusions which censured his conduct; and judges of the correctest taste have treated "Telemachus" with severity. They blamed it as tedious and circumstantial; they alleged that there was too little connection in the adventures; that his descriptions of a country life occur too often, and are too much of a piece; yet the book has always been esteemed as a fine monument of a flourishing age.

Among these may be always counted the "Characters" of La Bruyère. We have no copies of such a work among the ancients, any more than we have of "Telemachus." A style rapid, concise, and nervous; expressions animated and picturesque; an entirely new use of language, without infringing any established rules, now first struck the eye of the public, and the allusions, which everywhere occur in the course of the work, confirmed its success. When La Bruyère showed his work in manuscript to Malezieux: "It will procure you," said he, "many readers and many enemies." The reputation of this book was lowered in the public opinion, when the whole generation against which it was levelled was no more; yet, as there are in it many passages applicable to all times and all places, there is room to believe it will never be entirely forgotten. "Telemachus" has had some imitators; La Bruyère's "Characters" many more. It is much easier to sketch short pictures of striking things, than to produce a long work of imagination, which will at once both please and instruct.

The happy art of associating the graces with philosophy was a new thing, of which the "Plurality of Worlds" was the first specimen; it was indeed a dangerous one, because the native dress of philosophy should be composed of order, perspicuity, and truth above all. There is nothing to hinder this ingenious work from being ranked among our classics by posterity, but that it was

partly founded upon Descartes' chimerical doctrine of the vortices. To these literary novelties may be added Bayle's new kind of reasoning dictionary. It is the first work of this sort whereby a man may be taught to think. We must indeed abandon to the fate of indifferent books such articles as contain only trifling facts, unworthy of the character of Bayle, beneath the attention of a grave reader, or the regard of posterity. It is necessary to observe, that in ranking Bayle among the authors who reflect honor upon the age of Louis XIV., though he was banished into Holland, I only conform to the decree of the Parliament of Toulouse, which in declaring his will valid in France, notwithstanding the rigor of the laws, expressly says, "Such a man cannot be looked upon as a foreigner."

We shall not descant here upon the multitude of good books produced in this age; we shall only dwell upon such new and singular productions of genius as characterize and distinguish it from all others. The eloquence, for example, of Bossuet and Bourdaloue are not, nay cannot, be deemed similar to that of Cicero. The merit, as well as the species, was entirely new. If any production of this era comes near the Roman orator, the three pleadings of Pellisson composed for Fouquet, must take the place. They, like many of Tully's orations, are a mixture of judicial and state matters, solidly handled with the finest, yet with a scarcely discernible art and the most affecting charms of oratory.

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We have had historians, but none equal to Livy. The Conspiracy of Venice may rank with Sallust: that he was Abbé de St. Réal's model is evident, perhaps he has surpassed him. All the other writings of which we have been speaking seem to have been of a new creation. And it is this that so peculiarly distinguishes and characterizes the age of Louis XIV., for the sixteenth and seventeenth ages have both produced learned men and commentators, but true genius had not yet unfolded itself.

Who would believe that these excellent prose works of which we have taken notice had probably never existed, had they not been preceded by poetry! Yet such has been the fate of human nature in all nations, that verse has everywhere appeared as the first offspring of genius, and the parent of eloquence.

It is the same with men in general as in particular. Plato and Cicero began with versifying. When everybody had by heart some of Malherbe's stanzas, we had not one sublime or noble passage in prose to quote; and it is very likely the genius of prose writers had never been known, without the aid of Peter Corneille.

This great man is the more to be admired, because when he began to write tragedies, he had none but the very worst models before him, and inasmuch as these bad models were highly esteemed, he may be said to have been shut out from the road to success; and, to add to his discouragement, they had a fast friend in Cardinal Richelieu, the protector of men

of letters, but not of taste. He rewarded well the most miserable scribblers, who are commonly sycophants; and his natural haughtiness of soul, which on other occasions might have been nobly exerted, induced him to endeavor to humble men of real genius, whom he never viewed favorably, as they seldom can stoop to dependence. It seldom happens that a man of power is a sincere patron of the arts, when he himself is an artist.

Corneille had to struggle with the times, his rivals, and the cardinal. I shall not rehearse here all that has been said about "The Cid"; let it suffice that the academy, in their judicious decisions between Corneille and Scudéry, had too much complaisance for his eminence, and therefore condemned the love of Chimene. To love the murderer of her father, and yet persist in avenging, was admirably fine. To have conquered her passion had been a capital defect in tragedy, the principal business of which is to portray the struggles of the human heart. But, except to Corneille, the dramatic art was now entirely unknown. Nor was "The Cid" the only one of his works which the cardinal strove to injure; the abbé Polignac tells us that "*Polyeucte*" also incurred his displeasure. "The Cid," after all, was a noble imitation, and in many places a translation, of "Guillen de Castro." I knew an old domestic of the Condé family, who said, that at the first exhibition of "Cinna," the

great Condé, then only twenty years of age, shed tears at these lines pronounced by Augustus:

*Je suis maître de moi, comme de l'univers;
Je le suis, je veux l'être. Ô siècles! Ô mémoire!
Conservez à jamais ma nouvelle victoire.
Je triomphe aujourd'hui du plus juste courroux,
De qui le souvenir puisse aller jusqu'à vous.
Soyons amis, Cinna; c'est moi qui t'en convie.*

I'm now the world's great master and my own —
I am — I will be — memory and time
Shall this last, greatest victory record.
I triumph over wrath too justly roused,
And latest age the conquest shall applaud —
Cinna, let us be friends — 'tis I who ask it.

These were the tears of a hero. The great Corneille forcing tears of admiration from the eyes of the great Condé is a most celebrated moment in the history of the human mind. The many pieces unworthy of himself which he afterward published will never hinder the nation from regarding him as a great man, any more than the blemishes of Homer have prevented his being thought the sublimest of poets. It is the privilege of true genius, more especially when it strikes out into a new path, to launch with impunity into error.

Corneille formed himself; but Louis XIV., Colbert, Sophocles, and Euripides, all contributed to form Racine. An ode which he composed at the age of eighteen on the king's marriage, and for which he obtained an unexpected present, determined him in pursuit of poetry. His reputation

increased every day, that of Corneille diminished, but not much. The reason is plain; Racine in all his performances subsequent to "Alexander," is always correct, elegant, and natural; he speaks to the heart. The other too often infringes upon these duties. Racine understood the passions much better than either the Greeks or Corneille; and he carried the smooth flow of versification, as well as the graces of expression, to the highest pitch possible. By these great men the nation was taught to think, feel, and express; and their auditors, by them only instructed, became at length severe judges of what their first masters produced. In the time of Cardinal Richelieu there were but few people in France capable of understanding the faults of "The Cid"; and in 1702, when "*Athalie*," that masterpiece of dramatic writing, was performed before the duchess of Burgundy, the courtiers thought themselves sufficient critics to condemn it. Time has avenged this insult for the author; but that great man died without sharing in any part of the success of this admirable composition.

There was ever a numerous party, which made a point of doing injustice to Racine. Madame de Sévigné, the first epistolary writer of her time, and who had particularly the art of expressing the merest trifles with grace, always said that Racine's fame would never be great. She judged of him as she did of coffee, with regard to the virtues of which

she said the public would soon be undeceived. Time is requisite to ripen reputations.

It was the particular fate of these days, that Molière should be contemporary with Corneille and Racine. It is false that Molière at his first appearance found the stage utterly void of good comedies. Corneille had produced his "Liar," a piece taken from the Spanish, and fraught with spirit, character, and intrigue, and Quinault's "*La Mère Coquette*," a piece not only abounding with character and intrigue, but even the very model of intrigue had been exhibited, when only two of Molière's most capital pieces were presented. It made its appearance in 1664; and is the first comedy in which appears the character of a species of men called marquises. Most of Louis XIV.'s highest courtiers endeavored to imitate the grandeur, splendor and dignity of their sovereign. Those of an inferior class copied the exalted air of the nobility; and there were not wanting many who carried to the most ridiculous height of affectation their conceit and predominant desire of being held in a much higher light than their merits justified.

This humor prevailed long. It was often attacked by Molière, and it was to him principally the public owed their being freed from these consequential men of no consequence; as well as from the affectation of prudes, the pedantry of female learning, and the jargon of lawyers and physicians. Molière was, if one may be permitted to use the expression,

the lawgiver of politeness to the world. I speak here only of the services he did the age; everybody knows sufficiently his other merits. This was an era worthy the attention of futurity, when the heroes of Corneille and Racine, the characters of Molière, the musical compositions of Lulli, so very new to the nation — for we only speak here of the arts — and the eloquence of Bossuet and Bourdaloue, were exhibited before a Louis XIV. ; a duchess of Orleans, remarkable for the most finished taste; a Condé, a Turenne, a Colbert, and that crowd of illustrious men, of every sort, that now appeared. Those times will never return, wherein a duke de la Rochefoucauld, author of "Maxims," shall quit the conversation of a Pascal and an Arnauld, to discourse at the theatre with Corneille. It was by his fine epistles, so instructive to posterity, and above all by his "Art of Poetry," whence even Corneille might have derived improvement, and not by his "Satires," that Boileau raised himself to a rank with so many great men; for what have future generations to do with the "Confusion of Paris," or the names of Cossaignes, and Cotin?

La Fontaine, less chaste in his style, less correct in his language, was inimitable in that sprightliness, and those graces peculiar to himself, which raised him by the simplest narrations nearly to an equality with those sublime geniuses.

Quinault, who excelled in a new mode of writing, the more difficult for its being apparently the more

easy, richly deserves a place among these his illustrious contemporaries. The injustice wherewith Boileau decried him is well known. Boileau had never learned to sacrifice to the graces; and it was in vain that all his life he sought to humble a man who was their most intimate acquaintance. The greatest praise that can be given to a poet is to remember and repeat his verses. Whole scenes of Quinault are in everybody's mouth, an advantage at which the Italian opera could never arrive. French music has remained in a state of simplicity, which is no longer the taste of any nation; but those simple and refined strokes of nature which so frequently charm in Quinault, still please, in every part of Europe, those who are masters of the French tongue and a polished taste. Had we found such poems as an "Armida," or an "Atys," among the remains of antiquity, with what idolatry had they been read! but Quinault was a modern.

All these great men were known and protected by Louis XIV. La Fontaine was not of the number. His extreme simplicity, which amounted even to forgetfulness, kept him at a distance from court, where he never, indeed, once thought of appearing. The duke of Burgundy found him out; and, in his old age, he received many favors from that prince. He was, notwithstanding his genius, as simple in his manners as the heroes of his fables. Puget, one of the fathers of the Oratory, thinks he has great merit in treating this innocent, this artless man,

as if he spoke of a Brinvilliers or a Voisin. His tales are only from Poggius, Ariosto, and the queen of Navarre. If loose ideas are dangerous, be it remembered that they are not inspired barely by pleasant sallies of wit, or a lively imagination. One may reply to La Fontaine his admirable fable of the beasts sick of the plague, where the lions, the wolves, and the bears, are pardoned for everything, and an innocent animal is devoured for having eaten a little grass.

In the school of these geniuses, destined to be the delight and instruction of posterity, were formed many men of wit, who have produced a multitude of elegant little pieces, which serve to amuse people of taste, just as we have several good painters who are yet unequal to Poussin, Lesueur, Lebrun, Le-moine, and Vanloo.

But toward the end of Louis XIV.'s reign, two men rose superior to the run of indifferent geniuses, and acquired great reputations; the one was La Motte-Houdart, rather of a more solid and extensive than a sublime capacity. In prose he was delicate and methodical; but in his poetry he often wanted that fire and elegance, even that correctness, the neglect of which is only to be dispensed with in favor of the sublime. He has, however, given us some beautiful stanzas, for they cannot be properly called odes. His talents were not long-lived, yet the many beautiful pieces he has left us of more than one kind are sufficient to set him above authors

of the lowest class. In him is proved the fact that in the art of writing some may rank as seconds. The other was Rousseau, who, with less genius, less art, and less facility than La Motte, had yet greater talents for versification. His odes were subsequent to La Motte; but they are more beautiful, diversified, and fuller of imagery. In his psalms, he comes up to that rapture and harmony so remarkable in the canticles of Racine. His epigrams are better finished than those of Marot. He had less success in opera, which requires sensibility; nor did he succeed in comedy, in which a spirit of gayety is necessary. In these two characters he failed; therefore in these kinds of writing he did not succeed, because they were foreign to his genius.

Had the antiquated style of Marot, which he used in his serious works, been imitated, he would have corrupted the French tongue; but happily that mixture of the purity of our language, with the obsolete dialect spoken some two hundred years before, did not long keep its footing. Some of his epistles are imitations of Boileau; but neither so easy in the expression, nor so clear in the conception; nor are his truths obvious; truth only is amiable.

He lost himself in foreign countries; whether his genius was impaired by his misfortunes, or whether his principal merit consisted in a choice of words and happy turns of expression, perfections more necessary and uncommon than is generally imagined, he had not abroad the same advantages he

might have found at home. Exiled from his native land, he might rank it among his misfortunes that he was no longer under the eye of severe criticism.

His long misfortunes had their foundation in an ungovernable self-love, too much intermixed with jealousy and animosity. His example should be a striking lesson to all men of talents; but we consider him here only as a writer who has done no small honor to letters.

We have had few great geniuses since the flourishing days of these illustrious artists; and nature seemed, as it were, to repose some time before the death of Louis the Great.

The road was difficult at the beginning of this age because untrodden; it is now open to every one, and has become a common highway. The great men of the preceding century have taught us to think and speak; they have informed us of things which were before unknown. But little is left to be said by their successors. In fine, the multitude of finished pieces have given us a kind of satiety for literary productions.

The age of Louis XIV. had in everything therefore the fate of Leo X., of Augustus, and of Alexander. The soils which produced in these illustrious times so many fruits of genius, had been long before preparing to rear them. In vain have we searched out in causes moral and physical, the reason of this slow progressive fruitfulness, and of the long sterility that ensued. The true reason is,

that among the nations which cultivate the polite arts, it requires many years to purify their language and refine their taste. When these preliminaries are adjusted, then genius begins to bloom. Emulation and public favor lavished upon these new efforts excite every talent. Each artist in his particular sphere seizes upon those natural beauties which correspond with his art. Whoever fathoms the theory of such arts as depend purely upon genius must, if he has any genius himself, know that the primary beauties, the grand natural outlines peculiar to those arts and agreeable to the nation for which their talents are employed, are in number very confined. The subjects and their suitable embellishments have boundaries still more contracted than is generally imagined.

Abbé Dubos, a man of great sense, who, in 1714, composed a treatise upon poetry and painting, found not in the whole history of France one real subject for an epic poem, but the destruction of the League, by Henry the Great. He should have added, that the ornaments of the *epopée* adopted by the Greeks and Romans, and by Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, being proscribed by the French writers; the fabulous deities, oracles, invulnerable heroes, monsters, sorceries, metamorphoses, romantic adventures, now all generally exploded, the beauties proper to epic poetry are confined within a very narrow circle. If therefore at any time a genius springs up who possesses him-

self of all the embellishments suitable to the times, subject, and nation, and carries into execution what has been attempted, those who follow him will find the task performed.

It is the same in tragic compositions. It is not to be supposed that sublime passages and elevated sentiments can be susceptible of such infinite variety as to be always new and affecting: everything has its boundaries.

Nor is the case different with regard to true comedy; there are not in human nature above a dozen characters truly comic and highly marked. Abbé Dubos, not having genius in himself, thinks that men of wit may strike out a variety of characters that are all new; but he is mistaken, they must arise from nature. He imagines that those trifling peculiarities which constitute the different characters of men may be as happily handled as the most sublime subjects. Innumerable are the clouds that overshadow truth; her strongest and most glaring colors are not many; but of such of these as are of a primitive, a superior nature, an able artist never fails to make a proper use.¹

Pulpit oratory, particularly that which relates to funeral eulogium, is exactly in the same state.

¹ Without entering into a discussion of this point, whether nature has not produced more than a dozen original comic characters, we shall beg leave to observe that it is the business of comedy to paint the follies of the age; and everybody knows that the follies of life are infinitely varied, according to fashion, time and circumstance.

Moral truths being once delivered with eloquence, the images of wretchedness and human weakness, the vanity of grandeur, and the devastations of death, being once drawn by masterly hands, in time become commonplace. We are reduced to the necessity of imitating or erring from the point. A sufficient number of fables being composed by a La Fontaine, all further additions enter into the same system of morality; and the course of adventure is nearly the same. Thus genius, after flourishing for a certain age, must necessarily degenerate.

Those kinds of science whose subjects permit of perpetual renewal, such as history and physical observations, and which require only industry, judgment, and a common understanding, can more easily keep their ground; and the manual arts, such as painting and sculpture, can never degenerate, when the supreme governors, as Louis XIV., are careful only to employ the best artists; for in painting and sculpture the same subjects may be treated a hundred different ways. The holy family is drawn every day, though it is a subject on which Raphael has displayed the utmost power of his art: but it would be ridiculous again to undertake a "Cinna," an "Andromache," an "Art of Poetry," and a "Tartuffe."¹

¹ We cannot think this a fair comparison. A picture appeals instantaneously to the eye, which enjoys it at the first glance; but a man must take some pains to make himself judge of a tragedy. A picture is a valuable piece of

It is also observable that, the last age having instructed the present, it has become so easy to write indifferent books that we have been plagued with trifling pieces; and, what is still worse, many of them are very serious and very useless. But amid this quantity of works of small merit, an evil necessary in a town like this, large, opulent, and idle, where one part of the people is always striving to amuse the other, there will from time to time be found excellent pieces, either of history or reflection, or of that artificial kind of writing which amuses everybody.²

The French nation has, above all others, produced most of these performances. Their lan-

furniture, an original ornament, of which the owner is sole possessor; an eighteen-penny pamphlet makes no figure at all, and is besides common to thousands, a circumstance that must greatly diminish its value. Yet we will be bold to say that, if the said subject for tragedy were treated by a dozen different authors of established reputation, we should peruse them all with pleasure, and if there were but one copy of each, it would perhaps bring as great a price as an original Madonna.

² The writings of the present age have been undervalued, not from their mediocrity, but from their abundance. Genius has become cheap, because the market is overstocked. Pope was caressed by the great as the first poet of the age. His friendship was courted by the first persons in the nation and his fortune was made at once by a liberal subscription. Let it not be imagined that we want to detract from the merits or fame of this excellent writer when we declare our opinion that there are now living several authors, equal to Pope in poetical merit, who have never felt one ray of patronage or protection.

guage has become the language of Europe. Everything has contributed thereto: the celebrated writers of the age of Louis the Great; the Calvinist ministers who were banished, and carried eloquence and method into other countries; a Rapin de Thoyras, who published in French the only good history of England; ¹ a St. Évremond, whose acquaintance was sought by the whole English court; a duchess of Mazarin, whom they were all zealous to please; and a Madame d'Olbreuse, afterward duchess of Zell, who carried into Germany all the perfections of her native country; but above all, that social spirit which is the natural characteristic of the French, a merit and pleasure of which other nations feel the necessity. The French tongue, above all others, expresses every subject of genteel conversation with more ease, correctness, and elegance, and thereby contributes, all over Europe, to the greatest, the most amiable pleasures of life.

SEQUEL OF THE ARTS.

The arts that do not depend absolutely upon the mind, such as music, painting, sculpture, architecture, etc., made but small progress in France before that period which we distinguish by the name of the age of Louis XIV. Music was as yet in its infancy;

¹ This assertion will, we hope, admit of a dispute. Rapin reigned for some years, because there was no competitor. The case is otherwise at present.

all that we knew were some songs, and a few airs for the violin, the guitar, and the oboe, most of which were composed in Spain. The taste, the skill of a Lulli, amazed the world; he was the first who in France introduced bases, stops, and fugues. However easy and simple his compositions may now appear, the execution of them must have cost him some trouble. There are at this time a thousand people who understand music for one who was proficient in the days of Louis XIII., and the art has, by degrees, arrived at perfection.¹

Few great towns are now without a public concert; whereas then there was not one, even in Paris. The king's band, of twenty-four violins, was all the music of France. The different species of science belonging to music, and its dependent arts, made such progress that, about the end of Louis XIV.'s reign, the art of pricking down dances was invented; so that it may now be truly said we dance by book.

Even in the regency of Mary de Medici, we had very good architects; she built the palace of Luxembourg in the Tuscan style, to do honor to her own country and embellish ours. That Debrosse to whom we owe the portal of St. Gervais also superintended the structure of that queen's palace, which she never enjoyed. It is a mistake to sup-

¹ What music may have gained in composition it seems to have lost in expression, for the modern refinements of this art are calculated to tickle the ear rather than wake or assuage the passions of the heart.

pose that Cardinal Richelieu, with equal greatness of soul, equalled her in taste. His palace, which now belongs to the crown, is a proof of this assertion. When that beautiful front of the Louvre, which with regret we still behold unfinished, was first raised, we conceived the warmest expectations. Many magnificent buildings have been erected by citizens, which have been more highly finished within than without, and which contribute more to gratify the luxury of individuals than to embellish the city.

Colbert, the Mæcenas of arts, founded an academy of architecture in 1671. It is not enough to have Vitruviuses, we must also have Augustuses to employ them.

It is also necessary that the magistrates should be men of public spirit, and possessed of taste. Two or three such mayors of Paris as Turgot would have prevented the reproach now cast upon that city, on account of the town house, so badly built, and so poorly situated; of the public squares, so small and irregular, remarkable only for executions and bonfires; and of the principal streets, so extremely narrow: and, in fine, for those remains of barbarity, still existing in the midst of grandeur and the very bosom of the arts.

Painting began with Poussin in the days of Louis XIII. It is not worth while to take notice of the indifferent artists who preceded him. We have always had excellent painters since; though not

indeed in that abundance which constitutes part of the wealth of Italy. Suppose we should pass over the name of Lesueur, who had no master but himself, or Lebrun, who in design and composition equalled the Italians; yet we can boast of more than thirty painters, who have left behind them pieces worthy of the most accurate attention. Foreigners begin to purchase them of us. I have seen the galleries and grand apartments of a great monarch, which have been adorned only with pictures of our country's produce, with whose merit we were not perhaps sufficiently acquainted. I have seen in France twelve thousand livres refused for a picture of Santerre. Europe cannot boast a greater, nor perhaps a more elegant piece of painting than the ceiling at Versailles by Lemoine.

Foreigners admit a painter now among us to be the first in Europe. Colbert not only gave to the academy of painting its present form, but he prevailed upon Louis XIV. to establish one at Rome, in 1667. A house was there purchased for the superintendent. Pupils are sent thither who have obtained the premium in the academy at Paris. They are sent and maintained at the king's expense; they design after antiques, and study the works of Raphael and Michelangelo. This ambition of imitating its treasures is a noble homage paid to ancient and modern Rome; and we still continue it, notwithstanding the immense collection of Italian pictures made by the duke of Orleans and the king,

and those masterpieces of sculpture, which France has produced, which set us above the search after foreign assistance.

We have excelled principally in sculpture, and in the art of casting, in metal, colossal equestrian figures.

Should there hereafter be discovered in ruins such masterpieces of art as the baths of Apollo, exposed to all the injuries of the weather in the gardens of Versailles; the tomb of Cardinal Richelieu in the chapel of the Sorbonne, not sufficiently pointed out to the public; the equestrian statue of Louis XV., made at Paris, to grace Bordeaux; the Mercury sent by the present king of France as a present to his majesty of Prussia, and other performances equal in merit to those I have named, is it not probable they would set this age in a light as advantageous as the most polished era of ancient Greece?

We have equalled the ancients in our medals. Varin raised this art above mediocrity about the end of the reign of Louis XIII. The number and variety of these pieces which we see ranged in historical order in that part of the gallery of the Louvre assigned to the artists is admirable. There are above two millions, and most of them very masterly.

Nor have we been less successful in the art of engraving precious stones. That of multiplying pictures upon copper, and transmitting with ease to posterity all the representations of art and nature,

was, before this time, in a very imperfect state in France. It is one of the most useful and pleasing arts. We are indebted for it to the Florentines, among whom it was invented about the middle of the fifteenth century; and it has been more improved in France than Italy: we have a vast number of finished works of this kind. The king's collection of prints has been often considered as one of the most magnificent presents that could be given to ambassadors. Chasing in gold and silver, which depends much upon invention and taste, has been carried to the highest perfection of which the hand of man is capable.

Having thus traversed those arts which contribute to the delight of individuals, and the glory of a state, let us not pass over in silence one of the most useful of all others, in which France surpasses all nations of the world; I mean surgery, the progress of which was so rapid and celebrated that people crowded to Paris from all parts of Europe for those cures and operations which require uncommon dexterity of hand. Besides the fact that good surgeons were to be found scarcely anywhere but in France, it was the only country in which the instruments necessary to that art were properly finished. They supplied all their neighbors; and the celebrated Cheselden, one of the greatest surgeons in London, told me that it was he who first caused them to be manufactured in that city, in 1715. Physic, which contributes to perfect the

chirurgical art, did not make a more rapid progress in France than in England, and under Boerhaave in Holland. But we may say of physic as of philosophy, that, by making use of the light communicated to us by our neighbors, we have raised it to the greatest possible perfection.

Thus have I given a general and faithful portrait of the progress of human genius among the French in this age, which began under Cardinal Richelieu, and ended with our own times. It will be difficult to surpass it; and if by any means it be surpassed, it will always remain a model for those more fortunate ages to which it may give birth.

THE CEREMONIES OF THE CHINESE.

It was not sufficient for the disquiet of our minds that we disputed at the end of seventeen hundred years upon the articles of our own religion, but we must likewise introduce into our quarrels those of the Chinese. This dispute, however, was not productive of any great disturbances; but it served more than any other to characterize that busy, contentious, and jarring spirit which prevails in our climates.

Matthew Ricci, the Jesuit, had been one of the first missionaries to China at the end of the seventeenth century. The Chinese were then, and still are, almost at the same stage in philosophy and literature that we were two hundred years ago. The

eneration they have for their ancient masters makes them afraid of passing certain bounds. Progress in the sciences is the work of time and a daring genius; but morality and policy, being more easy to comprehend than the sciences, and these being brought to perfection among them before the other arts, it has happened that the Chinese, who have continued over two thousand years within the same limits, are but mediocre in the sciences, and are the first, as well as the most ancient, people in the world in morals and policy.

After Ricci, many other Jesuits found the way into this vast empire; and by the help of the European sciences they secretly scattered some seeds of Christianity among the children of that people, whom they took care to instruct whenever they had an opportunity. Some Dominicans, who were joined in this mission, accused the Jesuits of permitting idolatry, while they preached Christianity. This was a delicate point, and so was the conduct to be observed in China.

The laws and tranquillity of this great empire are founded on the most natural, and at the same time the most sacred, of all rights — the respect of children for their parents. To this respect they join that which they owe to their first masters in morality, and especially to Confutzee, or Confucius, as we call him, an ancient philosopher, who had taught them the principles of virtue five hundred years before the founding of Christianity.

Every family assembles on a particular day to do honor to their ancestors; and the learned meet publicly to honor Confucius. They prostrate themselves according to their manner of saluting their superiors, which was formerly called adoration throughout all Asia. They burn wax tapers and perfumes. The colaos, to whom the Spaniards have given the name of mandarins, twice a year kill several animals, near the hall where Confucius is honored, and feast upon them. Are these ceremonies idolatrous, or are they merely civil institutions? Do they hereby acknowledge their parents and Confucius for deities; or are they even invoked, as our saints are? In short, is this a political custom which some of the more superstitious Chinese abuse? These were questions that could not easily be cleared up in China by strangers, and which we were unable to decide in Europe.

The Dominicans laid an account of the customs of the Chinese before the Inquisition of Rome in 1645. The holy office, from their representation, forbade the use of these ceremonies till the pope should give his decision.

The Jesuits defended the cause of the Chinese and their ceremonies, which in their opinion could not be forbidden, without forever barring the entrance against Christianity in an empire so jealous of its customs. They presented their reasons on this head. In 1656 the Inquisition decided to permit the literati to continue to revere Confucius, and

the Chinese children to honor their ancestors; but protested against all superstition, if there was any.

While the affair remained thus undecided, the missionaries being always divided, and the matter cropping up at Rome from time to time, the Jesuits at Pekin insinuated themselves so far into the esteem of the emperor Cam-hi, by their mathematical knowledge, that this prince, renowned for his virtue and goodness, permitted them to exercise their office of missionaries, and teach Christianity publicly. But here it may be necessary to observe that this despotic monarch, grandson of the conqueror of China, was nevertheless subject by custom to the laws of the empire; that he could not by his own authority alone permit the exercise of Christianity, and was obliged to consult one of the tribunals upon that head; and he even drew up two petitions in the name of the Jesuits. At last, in 1672, Christianity was permitted in China, through the indefatigable pains and address of the Jesuits alone.

There is at Paris a house established for foreign missionaries. Some priests educated here were then in China. The pope, who sends apostolic vicars into all the countries, which they call the regions of infidelity, made choice of a priest named Maigrot, out of this house, to go to preside as vicar in the Chinese mission, and gave him the bishopric of Conon, a little Chinese province in Fo-kien. This Frenchman, having thus become a bishop in China,

began with not only declaring the rites performed for the dead to be superstitious and idolatrous, but also pronounced the learned men of that nation atheists; so that the Jesuits had now more to do to struggle against their brother missionaries than against the mandarins and the people. They represented to the court of Rome that it was not consistent that the Chinese should be at once atheists and idolaters. It was urged against these learned men that they admitted only matter, but then the difficulty was to account for their invoking the souls of their deceased ancestors, and that of Confucius. One of these charges evidently destroyed the other, unless it was pretended that they admitted contradictions in China, as is so frequently done with us. But it was necessary to be well acquainted with their language and manners to reconcile this seeming contradiction. This affair remained a long time before the court of Rome; and in the meantime the Jesuits were attacked on all sides.

Father Lecomte, one of their most learned missionaries, had expressed himself thus in his memoirs of China: "This people have had among them for two thousand years a knowledge of the true God; and have sacrificed to the Creator of the universe in the most ancient temple of the world. China practised the purest lessons of morality when Europe was in darkness and corruption."

We have already seen that this nation goes up, by an authentic history, and by a succession of

thirty-six calculated eclipses, even beyond the era in which we place the deluge. The learned men of that nation have never had any other religion than that which consists in the adoration of a supreme being. Their worship was justice. They could not be acquainted with the laws of Moses, nor the more perfect law of the Messiah, which remained so long unknown to the nations of the West and North. It is certain that Gaul, Germany, England, and all the North, were plunged in the most barbarous idolatry when the tribunals of the vast empire of China cultivated morality and the observance of laws, at the same time acknowledging one sole God, whom they always worshipped in the same simple manner, without the least variation. These evident truths were more than sufficient to justify the expressions made use of by Father Lecomte; but as there was something in these assertions which seemed to clash with the received notions, they were attacked in the Sorbonne.

In 1700 Abbé Boileau, brother to Despréaux, as great a critic as his brother, and a greater enemy to the Jesuits, declared this encomium on the Chinese to be a direct blasphemy. This abbé was a man of a lively and peculiar genius, who wrote the most serious and bold things in a humorous style. He was author of a book entitled "Flagellants," and some other pieces of the like kind. He said he wrote them in Latin, for fear of being censured by the bishops. His brother said of him that if he had

not been a doctor of the Sorbonne, he would have been a doctor of the Italian comedy. He declaimed violently against the Jesuits and the Chinese, and began by saying that the encomiums on that people had shaken his Christian brain. The brains of the rest of that assembly seemed to be not much less disordered. There were some debates on the subject. A reverend doctor, named Le Sage, was of opinion that twelve of their brethren, of the most robust constitution, should be sent upon the spot to instruct themselves in every particular. The debate grew warm; but at length the Sorbonne declared the encomiums given to the Chinese false, scandalous, rash, impious, and heretical.

This dispute, which was carried on with great warmth, inflamed that about the ceremonies; and in the following year Pope Clement XI. sent a legate to China. The person he made choice of on the occasion was Thomas Maillard de Tournon, titular patriarch of Antioch, who did not arrive in China till 1705. The court of Pekin were till that time wholly ignorant that they had been under trial at Rome and Paris. The emperor Cam-hi at first received de Tournon with great civility. But how great was his surprise when he understood by the legate's interpreters that the Christians who preached their religion in his empire did not agree among themselves, and that this legate came to decide a dispute of which the court of Pekin had never till then heard the least mention. The legate

gave his majesty to understand that all the missionaries, except the Jesuits, condemned the ancient customs of his empire, and even suspected his Chinese majesty and all the learned men of his kingdom to be atheists, who admitted only of a material heaven. He added that he had in his dominions the learned bishop of Conon, who would explain these matters more fully, if his majesty would condescend to give him a hearing. The monarch found his surprise increasing when he was informed that he had bishops in his empire; and the reader will not be less surprised to find that this prince carried his indulgence so far as to permit the bishop of Conon to come to him to talk against his religion, the customs of his country, and even against himself. The bishop of Conon was admitted to an audience. He was very little acquainted with the Chinese language. The emperor began by asking him the meaning of four characters which were drawn in gold above his throne. Maigrot could read only two; but he maintained that the words "*King-tien*," which the emperor had written in his pocket-book, did not signify "adore the Lord of Heaven." The emperor had the patience to explain to him that that was the precise meaning of these words, and even condescended to enter into a long argument, in which he vindicated the honors paid to the dead. The bishop, however, remained inflexible; and it may well be believed that the Jesuits had more interest at court than he. The emperor, who by the laws

of the country, might have put him to death, contented himself with only banishing him; and passed an ordinance that all the Europeans willing to remain in his empire should for the future be obliged to take his letters of protection, and undergo an examination.

As for de Tournon, the legate, he had orders to quit the capital. As soon as he got to Nankin he published a mandate, entirely condemning all the Chinese rites, in regard to the dead, and forbidding the use of that expression which the emperor used to signify "the God of heaven."

Upon this the legate was banished to Macao, of which the Chinese always retain the sovereignty, though they permit the Portuguese to have a governor there. While he was in confinement here, the pope sent him a hat; but this only served to make him die a cardinal, for he ended his days there in 1710. The enemies of the Jesuits laid his death to their charge. It was sufficient if they imputed his banishment to them.

These divisions among strangers who came into the empire, on pretence of instructing it, greatly discredited the religion they preached. It suffered still more when the court, who began to study the Europeans more closely than heretofore, discovered that, not only were the missionaries thus divided, but that among the traders who came from Canton there were several sects, sworn enemies to each other.

The emperor Cam-hi did not cool toward the Jesuits, but greatly toward Christianity. His successor drove out all the missionaries, and proscribed the Christian religion. This was the effect partly of those disputes, and partly of that insolence with which strangers had pretended to know better than the emperor and his magistrates, in what sense the Chinese honored their ancestors.

These disputes, so long the object of attention at Paris, as well as many others, arising from a mixture of idleness and restlessness, are now utterly forgotten; people are surprised that they ever produced such animosities; and the spirit of philosophy, which daily gains ground, bids fair to secure the public tranquillity.

The emperor Cam-hi died in 1724. This prince was a great lover of all the European arts. Some Jesuits had been sent to his court, who, by their consummate knowledge and the eminent services they did him, gained his affection, and obtained from him, as we have already observed, permission to exercise and teach the Christian religion publicly, throughout his dominions.

His fourth son, Yon-tching, whom he had nominated to the empire, to the exclusion of the elder brothers, succeeded him peaceably, without his brothers murmuring, or showing the least sign of discontent. Filial piety and obedience, which is the fundamental law of that empire, makes it a crime and disgrace, in persons of whatsoever condition,

to complain of the last will, or determination, of a parent.

The new emperor even exceeded his father in a regard for the laws and welfare of his people. No prince ever gave greater encouragement to agriculture. He carried his attention to this first of all the necessary arts so far as to bestow the rank of a mandarin of the eighth order on such husbandmen in each of the provinces of the empire as, in the opinions of the magistrates of the canton, should be deemed the most diligent, industrious, and honest in their vocations; but this rank did not take them from the exercise of their profession, though it called them to seats in the courts of judicature; they were still to remain what they were before their elevation to this new dignity, only they bore the title of mandarins, which gave them a right to sit in the presence of the viceroy of the province, and to eat at his table. Their names were registered in letters of gold, in one of the public halls. It is said that this regulation, so very different from our customs, and which is in fact a kind of satire upon them, still exists.

This prince also ordered that no person should be put to death in all his extensive empire, till the proceedings against him had been laid before the emperor, not once only, but three times successively. The two principal motives for this edict are as respectable as the edict itself, as they show the great

value that should be set upon the life of every man, and the tenderness a king owes his people.

He caused immense magazines of rice to be filled in each province, with an economy that did not burden the people, and which effectually provided against a dearth at any future time. All the provinces vied with each other in giving testimonies of joy and gratitude, by public shows and triumphal arches, which were everywhere erected to the name of this father of his country. However, Yon-tching published an edict ordering a stop to be put to these exhibitions, which were injurious to the economy he had recommended; and positively forbade the erecting of any more monuments to his honor, expressing himself thus, in the rescript he sent to the mandarins: "I did not bestow favors from the vain motive of applause; I would have my people happy and better; and that they should discharge the several duties of their station; these are the only monuments I desire, or will accept."

Such was the character of this emperor; and unhappily this was the prince who proscribed the Christian religion. The Jesuits had at that time several churches, in which they openly performed their worship; and even some princes of the imperial blood had actually received baptism at their hands. Some fatal innovation was apprehended in the state: it was no secret that, at that very time, Christianity had excited furious disorders in Japan, and this made an impression on all minds that

the sanctity of the religion itself, for want of being properly known, could not counterbalance. It was also well known that at that very time the disputes between the Christian missionaries of the different orders then at Tonquin had occasioned the total extirpation of their religion in that province; and as these very disputes were carried to a still greater height in China, almost all the tribunals were exasperated against a set of people who appeared divided among themselves, in relation to the most essential points of the religion they came to preach to others. In short, information was received that at Canton there were English, Dutch, Swedish, and Danish settlers, who, though all calling themselves Christians, were yet of a different religion from the Christians of Macao.

These various considerations determined the supreme tribunal of rites to forbid the further exercise of the Christian religion. This edict was published January 10, 1724, but without any reflection upon, or punishment decreed against, the missionaries, or even the least offensive reproach; nay, the words of the edict invited the emperor to retain such of them about his person at Pekin as he should judge necessary for the furtherance of mathematical knowledge. The emperor confirmed this edict, and issued an order at the same time, that the missionaries should be sent back to Macao, under the care of a mandarin, who was to protect them from

all insults by the way ; these are the express words of the emperor's ordinance.

He kept some few of them about him, and among the rest the Jesuit Parrenin, whose character I have already given, and who was equally famous for his great erudition, and the wise and prudent manner in which he conducted himself. This man spoke the Chinese and Tartar languages perfectly, and was indeed a very necessary person, not only as an interpreter, but also as a mathematician. He is the best known to us of any of the missionaries of that time by the wise and instructive answers he has given to the learned objections started by one of our best philosophers, in relation to the sciences of the Chinese. This priest was in high favor with the emperor Cam-hi, and held in no less degree of esteem by his son and successor, Yon-tching. If any one could have warded off this blow on Christianity, it would have been he. He, with two other Jesuits, his brethren in the mission, obtained an audience of the emperor's brother, who was appointed to examine the edict and make a report to the emperor. Parrenin, with great candor, relates the reply this prince gave to them, who was their patron and protector: "Your affairs give me a great deal of trouble and uneasiness. I have read the accusations brought against you: your continual quarrels with the other Europeans in relation to the rites and ceremonies of the Chinese worship have done you irreparable prejudice. What

would you say, or how would you act, if we were to come over to Europe and behave as you have done here? Answer me ingenuously; would you suffer it?" They had no answer to make to this. Nevertheless, they prevailed on the prince to speak to the emperor in their favor; and being afterward admitted to speak to the emperor in person, he declared that he was resolved to send away every one who called himself a missionary.

We have already related these words of the emperor: "You have deceived my father; think not to deceive me likewise."

Notwithstanding the prudent orders issued by the emperor, some Jesuits were indiscreet enough to return clandestinely into some of the provinces, in the reign of the successor of this Yon-tching, who condemned them to die as open violators of the laws of the empire, as we in France put to death such Huguenot preachers as, in disobedience to the order of the king, gather congregations, or assemble the people of a province or country. This desire of making proselytes is a malady endemic to our climates, as I have already remarked, and has been always unknown to those of Upper Asia. These people never sent missionaries into Europe; we are the only people in the world who are desirous of carrying our religion, like our trade, to all parts of the globe.

The Jesuits were even the cause of the deaths of several of the Chinese, in particular two princes

of the blood, who were suspected of favoring them too much. What a misfortune! to come from the extremity of the earth to sow discord in an imperial family, and be the cause of two princes falling by the hands of executioners! These men, to render their mission respectable in Europe, pretended that God declared in their favor, by causing four crosses to appear in the sky over China, and have given us the figure of these crosses, in a copper-plate, in their curious and edifying letters; but if God had been willing that the Chinese should become Christians, would He have been contented with hanging these crosses in the air? Would He not rather have fixed them in the hearts of the people?

A RECAPITULATION OF THE FOREGOING HISTORY, WITH THE POINT OF VIEW FROM WHICH IT OUGHT TO BE CONSIDERED.

I have now gone through the immense scene of revolutions that the world has experienced since the time of Charlemagne; and to what have they all tended? To desolation, and the loss of millions of lives! Every great event has been a capital misfortune. History has kept no account of times of peace and tranquillity; it relates only ravages and disasters.

We have beheld our Europe overspread with

barbarians after the fall of the Roman Empire; and these barbarians, after becoming Christians, continually at war with the Mahometans, or else destroying each other.

We have seen Italy desolated by perpetual wars between city and city; the Guelphs and Ghibellines mutually destroying each other; whole ages of conspiracies, and successive irruptions of distant nations who have passed the Alps, and driven each other from their settlements by turns, till at length, in all this beautiful and extensive country, there remained only two states of any importance governed by their own natives — Venice and Rome. The others, namely, Naples, Sicily, Milan, Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany are under the dominion of foreigners.

The other great states of Christendom have suffered equally by wars and intestine commotions; but none of them has been brought under subjection to a neighboring power. The result of these endless disturbances and perpetual jars has been only the separating of some small provinces from one state, to be transferred to another. Flanders, for example, formerly under the suzerainty of France, passed to the house of Burgundy from foreign hands, and from this house to that of Austria; and a small part of this Flanders came again into the hands of the French in the reign of Louis XIV. Several provinces of ancient Gaul were in former times dismembered. Alsace, which was a part of

ancient Gaul, became a province of Germany, and is at this day a province of France. Upper Navarre, which should be a demesne of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, belongs to the younger; and Roussillon, which formerly belonged to the Spaniards, now belongs to the crown of France.

During all these shocks, there have been formed since the time of Charlemagne only two absolutely independent republics — that of Switzerland and that of Holland.

No one great kingdom has been able to subdue another. France, notwithstanding the conquests of Edward III. and Henry V.; notwithstanding the victories and efforts of Charles V. and Philip II., has still preserved its limits, and even extended them; Spain, Germany, Great Britain, Poland, and the northern states are nearly as they were formerly.

What then have been the fruits of the blood of so many millions of men shed in battle, and the sacking of so many cities? Nothing great or considerable. The Christian powers have lost a great deal to the Turks, within these five centuries, and have gained scarcely anything from each other.

All history, then, in short, is little else than a long succession of useless cruelties; and if there happens any great revolution, it will bury the remembrance of all past disputes, wars, and fraudulent treaties, which have produced so many transitory miseries.

In the number of these miseries we may with

justice include the disturbances and civil wars on the score of religion. Of these Europe has experienced two kinds, and it is hard to say which of them has proved more fatal to her. The first, as we have already seen, was the dispute of the popes with the emperors and kings: this began in the time of Louis the Feeble, and was not entirely at an end, in Germany, till after the reign of Charles V. in England, till suppressed by the resolution of Queen Elizabeth, and in France, till the submission of Henry IV. The other source of so much bloodshed was the rage of dogmatizing. This has caused the subversion of more than one state, from the time of the massacre of the Albigenses to the thirteenth century, and from the small war of the Cévennois to the beginning of the eighteenth. The field and the scaffold ran with blood on account of theological arguments, sometimes in one century, sometimes in another, for almost five hundred years, without interruption; and the long continuance of this dreadful scourge was owing to the fact that morality was always neglected to indulge a spirit of dogmatizing.

It must once again be acknowledged that history in general is a collection of crimes, follies, and misfortunes, among which we have now and then met with a few virtues, and some happy times; as we sometimes see a few scattered huts in a barren desert.

In those times of darkness and ignorance, which

we distinguish by the name of the Middle Ages, no one perhaps ever deserved so well of mankind as Pope Alexander VIII. It was he who abolished vassalage, in a council which he held in the twelfth century. It was he who triumphed in Venice by his prudence, over the brutal violence of Frederick Barbarossa, and who obliged Henry II. of England to ask pardon of God and man for the murder of Thomas à Becket.¹ He restored the rights of the people, and chastised the wickedness of crowned heads. We have had occasion to remark that before this time, all Europe, a very small number of cities excepted, was divided between two ranks of people—the lords or owners of lands, either ecclesiastical or secular, and the villeins, or slaves. The lawyers, who assisted the knights, bailiffs, and stewards of fiefs, in giving their sentences, were in fact, no other than bondmen, or villeins, themselves. And, if mankind at length enjoy their rights, it is to Pope Alexander VIII. that they are chiefly indebted for this happy change. It is to him

¹ That is to say, he obliged a great prince to do shameful penance, for a murder in which he had no hand; and by what means did he manifest this power? By employing all the villainous arts of priestcraft to alienate the affections of the people from their natural sovereign; by excommunications, interdictions, and absolving the subjects from their oaths of allegiance. As for Becket, whom Alexander allowed to be canonized, we hope there are not three Britons now living who do not detest his character, as that of a pernicious firebrand, whose pride, insolence, and fanaticism kept his sovereign and his country in continual disquiet.

that so many cities owe their present splendor; nevertheless, we know that this liberty was not universally extended. It has never made its way into Poland; the husbandman there is still a slave, and confined to the glebe; it is the same in Bohemia, Suabia, and several other countries of Germany; and even in France, in some of the provinces the most remote from the capital, we still see remains of this slavery. There are some chapters and monks who claim a right to all the goods of the peasants.

In Asia, on the contrary, there are no slaves but those which are purchased with money, or taken prisoners in battle. In the Christian states of Europe they do not buy slaves, neither do they reduce their prisoners of war to a state of servitude. The Asiatics have only a domestic servitude; Christians only a civil one. The peasant in Poland is a bondman in the lands, but not in the house of his lord. We make household slaves only of the negroes; we are severely reproached for this kind of traffic, but the people who make a trade of selling their children are certainly more blamable than those who purchase them, and this traffic is only a proof of our superiority. He who voluntarily subjects himself to a master is designed by nature for a slave.

We have seen that, from time immemorial, they have tolerated all religions in Asia, much as is at present done in England, Holland, and Germany. We have observed that this toleration was more gen-

eral in Japan than in any other country whatever, till the fatal affair which rendered that government so inexorable.

We may have observed, in the course of so many revolutions, that several nations almost entirely savage have been formed both in Europe and Asia, in those very countries which were formerly the most civilized. Thus, some of the islands of the Archipelago, which were once so flourishing, are now little better than Indian habitations in America. The country where were formerly the cities of Artaxata, and Tigranocerta, have not now even half the value of some of our petty colonies. There are, in some of the islands, forests, and mountains in the very heart of Europe, a set of people who are in nothing superior to those of Canada, or the negroes of Africa. The Turks are more civilized, but we hardly know of one city built by them; they have suffered the most noble and beautiful monuments of antiquity to fall to decay, and reign only over a pile of ruins.

They have nothing in Asia that in the least resembles our European nobility; nor is there to be found throughout the whole East any one order of citizens distinguished from the others by hereditary titles, or particular privileges and indulgences, annexed solely to birth. The Tartars seem to be the only people who have some faint shadow of this institution, in the race of their Mirzas. We meet with nothing, either in Turkey, Persia, the Indies, or China, that

bears any similitude to that body of nobility which forms an essential part of every European monarchy. We must go as far as Malabar to meet with any likeness to this sort of constitution; and there again it is very different, and consists in a tribe wholly dedicated to bearing arms, and which never intermixes, by marriage or otherwise, with any of the other tribes or castes, and will not even condescend to hold any commerce with them.

The greatest differences between us and the Orientals is in the manner of treating our women. No female ever reigned in the East, unless that princess of Mingrelia, whom Sir John Chardin tells us of in his voyages, and whom he accuses of robbing him. In France, though the women cannot wear the crown, they may be regents of the kingdom, and have a right to every other throne but that of the empire and Poland.

Another difference in our manner of treating women is the custom of placing about their persons men deprived of their virility, a custom which has always prevailed in Asia and Africa, and has at times been introduced into Europe by the Roman emperors. At present there are not throughout all Christendom two hundred eunuchs employed, either in our churches or theatres, whereas all the Eastern seraglios swarm with them.

In short, we differ in every respect, in religion, policy, government, manners, food, clothing, and even in our manner of writing, expressing, and

thinking. That in which we most resemble them is that propensity to war, slaughter, and destruction, which has always depopulated the face of the earth. It must be owned, however, that this rage has taken much less possession of the minds of the people of India and China than of ours. In particular, we have no instance of the Indians or Chinese having made war upon the inhabitants of the North. In this respect they are much better members of society than ourselves; but then, on the other hand, this very virtue, or rather meekness, of theirs has been their ruin; for they have been all enslaved.

In the midst of the ravages and desolations which we have observed during the space of nine hundred years, we perceive a love for order which secretly animates human kind, and has prevented its total ruin. This is one of the springs of nature which always recovers its tone; it is this which has formed the code of all nations, and this inspires a veneration for the laws and the ministers of the laws at Tonquin, and in the island of Formosa, the same as at Rome. Children respect their parents in all countries, and in every country — let others say what they will — the son is his father's heir; for, though in Turkey the son of a Timariot does not inherit his father's dignity, nor, in India, the son of an Omra his lands, the reason is because neither the one nor the other belong to the father himself. A place for life is, in no country of the world, considered as an inheritance; but in Persia, in India,

and throughout all Asia, every native, and even every stranger, of whatsoever religion, except in Japan, may purchase lands that are not part of the crown demesnes, and leave them to his family.

In Europe there are still some nations where the law will not suffer a stranger to purchase a field or a burying-place in their territories. The barbarous right of aubaine, by which a stranger beholds his father's estate go to the king's treasury, still exists in all the Christian states, unless where it is otherwise provided by private convention.

We likewise have a notion that in the eastern countries the women are all slaves, because they are confined to the duties of domestic life. If they were really slaves, they must become beggars at the death of their husbands, which is not the case; the law everywhere provides a stated portion for them, and this portion they obtain in case of a divorce. In every part of the world, we find laws established for the support of families.

In all nations there is a proper curb to arbitrary power, either by law, custom, or manners. The Turkish sultan can neither touch the public treasure, break the janissaries, nor interfere with the inside of the seraglios of any of his subjects. The emperor of China cannot publish a single edict without the sanction of a tribunal. Every state is at times liable to violent oppressions; the grand viziers and the itimadoulets exercise rapine and murder, it is true, but they are no more authorized so to do by the laws

than the wild Arabs or wandering Tartars are to plunder the caravans.

Religion teaches the same principles of morality to all nations, without exception ; the ceremonies of the Asiatics are ridiculous, their belief absurd, but their precepts are just ; the dervish, the fakir, the bonze, and the talapoin, are always crying out : " Be just and beneficent." The common people in China are accused of being great cheats in trade ; they are perhaps encouraged to this vice by knowing that they can procure absolution for their crime of their bonzes for a trifling sum of money. The moral precepts taught them are good, the indulgence which is sold them is bad.

We are not to credit those travellers and missionaries, who have represented the Eastern priests to us as persons who preach up iniquity ; this is traducing human nature, it is not possible that there should ever exist a religious society instituted for the encouragement or propagation of vice.

We should equally deceive ourselves, were we to believe that the Mahometan religion owes its establishment wholly to the sword. The Mahometans have had their missionaries in the Indies and in China ; and the sects of Omar and Ali dispute with each other for proselytes, even on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar.

From all that we have observed in this sketch of universal history, it follows that whatever concerns human nature is the same from one end of the

universe to the other, and that what is dependent upon custom differs, or, if there is any resemblance, it is the effect of chance. The dominion of custom is much more extensive than that of nature, and influences all manners and all usages. It diffuses variety over the face of the universe. Nature establishes unity, and everywhere settles a few invariable principles; the soil is still the same, but culture produces various fruits.

As nature has placed in the heart of man interest, pride, and all the passions, it is no wonder that, during a period of about six centuries, we meet with almost a continual succession of crimes and disasters. If we go back to earlier ages, we shall find them no better. Custom has ordered it so that evil has everywhere operated in a different manner.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

ON

"THE AGE OF LOUIS."

OTHER WRITERS OF THE PERIOD.

Destouches, after having written several comedies, was for a long time chargé d'affaires from the court of France to London, and having filled this office satisfactorily, he returned to his former vocation of writing plays. His pieces have not the energy and sprightliness of those of Regnard, nor do they furnish us with such lively pictures of the human heart: they have not that true natural humor, that excellent comic coloring which makes the distinguishing merit of the inimitable Molière; and yet he has preserved the next place to himself, after these two authors. There are some of his efforts which have met with great success, though the humor in them appears rather too much forced. He has been at least happy enough to avoid that whining kind of comedy, or rather low tragedy, which is indeed neither tragedy nor comedy, but a monstrous production, which arose after the age of Louis XIV., and was owing partly to a want of

capacity in the writers, and partly to a disordered taste in the public after those golden days of literature. The comedy of "*Le Glorieux*," or "The Boaster," is one of his best performances, and bids fair to keep possession of the stage, though some will have it that the character of "*Le Glorieux*" is not well filled; however, the other characters are undoubtedly admirably finished.

Fontenelle suffered a kind of literary persecution for having maintained that in many respects the moderns were equal to the ancients. Racine and Boileau, though, in some measure, interested that Fontenelle should be in the right, affected to despise him; and for a considerable time kept the doors of the Academy shut against him. They wrote several epigrams on him, and he on them, and they were for a considerable time at open enmity.

Fontenelle's "History of Oracles," which is a very moderate and decent abridgment of the great history of Vandalis, drew on him more violent enemies than either Racine or Boileau. Two compilers of the lives of the saints, Pabebroke and Bolandus, Flemish Jesuits, and a third named Baltus, who were compilers in the literal sense of the word, wrote after their manner against the reasonable opinions of Vandalis and Fontenelle. The Parisian philosopher did not trouble to answer them; but the learned Basnage, a Dutch philosopher, essayed to refute their absurdities, and the compilers were no longer read. Several years afterward the Jesuit Letellier,

confessor to Louis XIV., and the unhappy author of all those disputes which have produced so much evil and contempt in France, represented Fontenelle to his royal penitent as an atheist. Marc René de Paulmy, marquis d'Argenson, at that time lieutenant of the police, and afterward keeper of the seals, warded off the persecution, which was on the point of falling heavy on Fontenelle, as that philosopher acknowledges with gratitude, in his panegyric on M. d'Argenson, pronounced by him in the Academy of Sciences.

Gedouin entered into the society of the Jesuits when fifteen years old, and left it when he came to a riper age. He was such a passionate admirer of the good authors of antiquity that he was willing to forgive them their religion in favor of the beauties of their writings, and their mythology. He discovered in their fables an admirable system of natural philosophy, and the most striking emblems of all the operations of the deity. He was of opinion that the understandings of mankind in general have been greatly confined since their time, and that the more exalted spirit of poetry and eloquence disappeared with the Greek mythology. According to him the famous "Paradise Lost" of Milton is a barbarous, enthusiastic, gloomy, and displeasing poem, in which the devil is perpetually opposing and inveighing against the Saviour of mankind. He wrote four very curious dissertations on this subject, which the learned hope to see in print ere long.

Count Hamilton's memoirs of the count de Gramont are models of sprightly conversation, rather than that of a book. The chief character of the hero of his piece seems to be that of one who cheats his friends at play, is himself cheated by his own servant, and makes a few jests on other people's conduct and affairs.

Helvetius was father of a true philosopher, who gave up the place of farmer-general of the king's revenues to follow the study of the *belles-lettres*, and who shared the fate of most philosophers, that of being persecuted for their writings and their virtues.

It is possible, after all, that Saurin might have been the author of the stanzas imputed to Rousseau; and though the latter was proved to have written the first five, which were equally severe, yet Saurin might have added the last two in order to ruin him, though there was no rivalry between these two writers; and though Saurin had been for a long time busied in algebraic calculations, and was himself most cruelly handled in these two stanzas; and though all the injured parties unanimously charged Rousseau with them, and Saurin was acquitted by a solemn decree; all this, I say, is within the bounds of possibility; but most certainly it exceeds all probability. Rousseau, indeed, accused him with it to the end of his life, and even reiterated the charge in his last will; but Professor Rollin, to whom Rousseau showed his will at the time that he

came privately to Paris, obliged him to erase this accusation; and Rousseau contented himself with protesting his own innocence, even on his deathbed, but never dared to accuse La Motte, either during the course of the lawsuit, during the remainder of his own life, or in his last moments; but confined himself to writing verses against him. (See the article *Joseph Saurin*.)

Nivelle de la Chaussée has written some comedies in a new and affecting manner, which have had success. It is certain, however, that he lacked the true comic genius so essential to this kind of production. There are many persons of taste who cannot suffer comedies in which there are not strokes of pleasantry and humor; but there is nevertheless no small degree of merit in knowing how to touch the heart, to treat morality in a pleasing manner, and to write verse with elegance and purity; and herein our author particularly excels. He was born during the reign of Louis XIV., and died in the year 1750.

There is neither richness, beauty, sentiment, nor invention in Rousseau's writings; he was very happy in turning an injurious epigram, or a loose stanza. His epistles are written with a pen of steel dipped in the most offensive gall. He styles the daughters of M. Louvancourt, who were three truly amiable sisters, a "leash of hungry she-wolves;" and Rouillé, a counsellor of state, "a snarling, venomous, boorish mountebank," after having lavished

a heap of fulsome praises on him in a very indifferent ode. The expressions, "booby," "puppy," and "scoundrel," in these epistles, are such as would disgrace any writings. It is doubtless the mark of a noble mind to oppose our enemies with becoming courage; but such low abuse, without even the merit of pleasantry, rather bespeaks a base and ignoble soul.

I shall here content myself with observing that Rousseau, by acknowledging himself the author of four of these unlucky stanzas, incurred the guilt of having written all the others, both in the opinion of his judges, and that of every man of honor and understanding. His behavior after his sentence was far from being a proof in his favor, and I have in my hands letters from *Sieur Medine*, of Brussels, dated May 7, 1737, wherein that gentleman thus expresses himself: "Rousseau had no other table than mine, no other asylum but my house; he took me in his arms a hundred times, with all possible expressions of gratitude, the very day that he persuaded my creditors to arrest me."

Add to this a pilgrimage which Rousseau made to *Our Lady of Hall*, and then let anyone judge whether he is a person to be credited on his own bare word in relation to the stanzas in question.

De Larue has left several tragedies and comedies of his writing. The tragedy of "*Sylla*" was offered to the players and refused by them. He is thought to have written a great part of "*Andrienne*." He

was very intimately connected with the famous player Baron, from whom he learned to declaim. There were two sermons of his, the one called "The Dying Sinner," and the other "The Dead Sinner," which were so much admired that they were wont to be advertised every time he was to preach them.

Joseph Saurin was born in the neighborhood of Orange in 1659. He was a member of the Academy of Sciences, and a person of universal genius: we have nothing of his except some extracts from the "*Journal des Savans*," some mathematical memoirs, and the noted "*Factum*" against Rousseau. This piece, so unhappily famous, made him enemies for the rest of his life, and subjected him to the most infamous accusations. Rousseau, during his retreat in Switzerland, having learned that his adversary had been a pastor of the Reformed Church at Bercher in the bailiwick of Iverdun, used every possible means to procure witnesses against him. You must know that Joseph Saurin, having taken a distaste to the ministerial function, and being interested in philosophy and mathematics, preferred his native country, France, the city of Paris, and the Academy of Sciences, to the village of Bercher. In order to compass his design, he returned to the bosom of the Romish Church, and made his recantation in 1690. Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, thought he had converted a pastor, whereas he was only an instrument of the private views of a philosopher. Saurin made a journey to Switzerland several years after-

ward, in order to collect some money due to his wife, whom he had persuaded to embrace the Catholic religion at the same time as he did. The magistrates of the place ordered him to be seized as an apostate priest who had made his wife an apostate as well as himself. This happened in 1712, after Rousseau's fatal affair, and Rousseau himself was at Soleure just at that time. It was then that the most disgraceful accusations appeared against Saurin. He was charged with crimes that deserved the halter; there was a letter produced against him, said to have been written by himself many years before, in which he had made a full confession of all his crimes to a minister of his acquaintance. In fine, to crown his shame and to brand him with perpetual ignominy, his adversaries had the mean cruelty to print these accusations, together with this very letter, in several journals in the supplement to Bayle's dictionary, and that of Moréri. This was a new method invented to disgrace a man in the opinion of all Europe. It is a debasement of literature to make a dictionary the register of crimes, and to sully, with the most abusive reflections, works that are designed to be the repositories of science. It was certainly contrary to the original intention of the first authors of these archives of learning, that they should become the propagators of scandal and falsities. The art of writing is in several countries made an infamous traffic, by which booksellers who can scarcely read, pay so much

a sheet for falsities to a set of hireling scribblers, who have made literature the vilest of all professions. I have had an opportunity, by being on the spot, to examine closely into the validity of the accusations published against Joseph Saurin. I have spoken in person to the lord of the manor of Bercher, where Saurin was minister. I have interrogated every member of the family of this gentleman, who, as well as the lord himself, declared to me with one accord, that they had never seen the letter imputed to Saurin, and all joined in expressing the highest indignation at the scandalous abuse inserted in the supplement above mentioned; and this may be sufficient to engage every man of candor and probity to treat the story as it deserves.

Joseph Saurin died in 1737, like an intrepid philosopher, who was perfectly sensible of the nothingness of all worldly matters, and was filled with a just contempt for all the idle prejudices, disputes, and errors, which add fresh weight to the already numberless miseries of human life.

He has left behind him a son of real merit, who is author of a tragedy called "*Spartacus*," in which there are strokes equal to the master touches of Corneille.

We must not pass over unnoticed the administration of Cardinal Dubois. This man was the son of an apothecary of Brives la Gaillarde, a town in the government of Auvergne. His first rise in life was his being chosen preceptor to the duke of

Orleans, and afterward, by being the complaisant instrument to the pleasures of his pupil, he became his confidant; a middling share of wit, a great stock of libertinism, the most submissive adulation, but chiefly his master's fondness for singularity, gained him an immense fortune. Had this cardinal prime minister been a man of serious character, his sudden rise would have excited indignation, whereas it only caused ridicule and contempt. The duke of Orleans himself made a jest of him, and in this resembled the pope, who made a cardinal of the person who carried about his monkey. Everything was made a subject of laughter and burlesque under the regency of this merry prince; and the same spirit prevailed as in the times of the League, except a civil war; that is to say, this regent revived the true spirit of the French nation, which had been damped by a series of melancholy events in the latter part of the reign of Louis XIV.

Cardinal Dubois died the victim of a long course of debauch. He hit on an expedient to prevent his being fatigued in his last moments by those exercises of devotion for which it is well known he had little regard. He pretended that there was a particular ceremony in regard to cardinals, by which they were excused from receiving the extreme unction and viaticum, like common people. The curate of Versailles thereupon laid an information against his eminence; but Dubois cut short all proceedings by his death, which, agreeably to the

character of our nation, was, like his administration, only made a matter of laughter.

The duke of Orleans now took the title of prime minister upon himself; for the king being of age, his office of regent ceased; but he did not long survive his favorite, the cardinal. He was a prince whose only fault seemed to be an unbounded taste for pleasure and novelty.

Of all the race of Henry IV., Philip of Orleans resembled that monarch the most in his courage, goodness of heart, openness, gayety, affability, and freedom of access, and with an understanding better cultivated.

The duke of Bourbon-Condé succeeded him almost immediately in the ministry, without having recourse to any other intrigues than that of causing the patent to be immediately made out, and waiting upon the king with it to be signed at the time that he acquainted him with the death of the duke of Orleans. But it seems to have been always the fate of the Condé family to be obliged to yield to priests. Henry of Condé had been oppressed by Cardinal Richelieu, the great Condé was imprisoned by Cardinal Mazarin, and the duke of Bourbon was driven into banishment by Cardinal Fleury.

This latter was a native of Languedoc, born without fortune or expectations. He had been almoner to the dauphiness, a princess of the house of Bavaria, and we have a letter written by Madame de Maintenon in 1716, in which she thus expresses

herself: "This is certainly not a person to be so soon made a bishop."

Cardinal de Fleury took the earliest opportunity of resigning his bishopric of Fréjus, after having by his economy saved money enough to pay off a number of debts, and having done a great deal of good by his mild and conciliatory disposition. These were the two prevailing points of his character; he alleged to the people of his diocese as an excuse for quitting them, the bad state of his health, which would not permit him to attend properly to the care of the flock committed to his charge. Luckily for him, however, he never knew a day's illness.

The bishopric of Fréjus, which was situated at a considerable distance from the court, and in a country not the most agreeable, had been always disliked by him: he had taken a distaste to his spiritual spouse; and in a humorous letter which he wrote to Cardinal Quirini, he signed himself, "Fleury, by the Divine displeasure, bishop of Fréjus."

He resigned at the beginning of 1715. The court of Rome, which is always well informed of what passes in other churches, knew that the free and absolute resignation which Fleury had made of his bishopric was made with a view of being made preceptor to the young dauphin, the present king of France. Pope Clement XI., who was very certain of this, declared it openly, and Marshal Villeroi, after many solicitations, prevailed on Louis XIV.

actually to nominate the bishop of Fréjus preceptor to his son, by a codicil to his will. However, let us see how the new preceptor expresses himself on this event in his letter to Cardinal Quirini:

“I have more than once regretted my peaceable solitude of Fréjus. On my arrival here I learned that his late majesty had done me the honor to nominate me preceptor to his grandson; had he been then in a condition to hear me speak, I should have earnestly besought him to ease me of a burden the weight of which makes me tremble; but as he was dead, all I could say made no impression. This has thrown me into a fit of sickness, and nothing can comfort me for the loss of that liberty I had aimed at by my resignation.”

But he insensibly found comfort in applying himself to mould the mind of his pupil to business, secrecy, and probity; and preserved in the midst of the hurry and agitation of the court, during the minority, the good graces of the regent and the esteem of the public; he never made a merit of his own services, nor complained of others, and by never engaging in cabals or intrigues of the court, he never subjected himself to the mortification of a denial. He privately endeavored to make himself acquainted with the affairs of the kingdom at home, and its political interests abroad. In a word, the circumspection of his conduct and the amiability of his disposition made all France wish to see him at the head of the administration. He was the

second preceptor who had governed that kingdom, and was satisfied with being absolute in his place, without taking the title of prime minister. He was less thwarted and envied in his ministry than either Richelieu or Mazarin in the most peaceable part of theirs. His exaltation made no change in his manners; and everyone was surprised to find in a prime minister the most engaging, and at the same time the most disinterested courtier. Happily, his spirit of moderation and the interest of the nation were for a long time in accord. France stood in need of that peace of which her minister was so fond, and it was the opinion of all the foreign ministers that it would never be broken so long as he held the reins of government.

Some writers of other countries have confounded this minister with Abbé Fleury, author of "The History of the Church," and some excellent discourses which far exceed that work. This Abbé Fleury was confessor to Louis XIV., he lived unknown in the midst of a court; a man of real modesty. The modesty of the other Fleury was that of an ambitious man of talent.

All was peaceable between the powers of Christendom, if we except the disputes which began to arise about this time between the crowns of Spain and England, concerning the trade to the West Indies. France continued to be considered as the arbiter of Europe.

The emperor made war on the Turks, without consulting the other princes of the empire. This war proved unfortunate, but France saved him from the precipice by its mediation, and M. de Villeneuve, her ambassador at the Ottoman court, went into Hungary in 1739, and there concluded a peace with the Turkish vizier, which proved a very seasonable relief to the emperor.

France almost at the same time compromised matters for the government of Genoa, which was threatened with a civil war, and quelled for a time the rebellious Corsicans, who had thrown off the yoke of that republic. The island of Corsica, which has for a long time taken the title of kingdom, was toward the end of the thirteenth century brought under subjection to Genoa, a country less extensive and less warlike than the other, but superior in riches. The Corsicans, who had always been an undisciplined and restless people, were at this time in open rebellion, having been in arms ever since 1725, on pretence of having been tyrannically treated by their masters. A gentleman of the duchy of Westphalia, in Germany, named Theodore Neuhof, having travelled through all Europe, in hope of making his fortune, happened to be at Leghorn in 1736. Here he entered into a correspondence with the Corsican malcontents, and offered them his services. He made a voyage to Tunis, where he exerted himself so effectually in their behalf, that he returned to Corsica loaded with

arms, ammunition, and money. At his arrival he was proclaimed king of Corsica, and crowned with a wreath of laurel, and acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the island. He put himself at their head, and carried on the war. The senate of Genoa set a price on his head; but not being able either to get Theodore into their hands, or to subdue the rebels, they had applied to the emperor for his protection. But this was thought a dangerous step, inasmuch as the emperor, who regarded himself as lord paramount of all Italy, was hereby made sovereign judge between the state of Genoa and her rebellious subjects. The senate therefore had recourse to France, who successively sent generals and troops over to Corsica, who drove Theodore out of the island, reduced the malcontents to submission, and put everything upon a peaceable footing, at least for some time. King Theodore went to London, where he died in prison, neglected and despised.

While the court of France was thus acting as the benefactress of Genoa and Corsica, she at the same time interposed her good offices between the courts of London and Madrid, who had just begun a war the more ruinous, as the possessions for which they disputed were of little or no advantage to either side. In 1735, the same crown had employed its mediation between those of Spain and Portugal; so that France was generally respected by all her neighbors, none of whom had cause to complain of

her, and was considered by all nations as their common mother and mediatrix.

DEATH OF CHARLES VI.

The emperor Charles VI. died in October, 1740, aged fifty-five years. It is necessary for all crowned heads, whose lives are of so great consequence to the peace and happiness of their people, to know that this monarch caused his own death, by over-eating, at an entertainment — an excess which cost him his life, and brought the empire to the brink of ruin. If the death of Augustus II., king of Poland, was the cause of great commotions, it may readily be imagined that that of Charles VI., who was the last prince of the house of Austria, must have occasioned far greater revolutions. In the first place, Italy had a prospect of acquiring that independence to which she had always aspired. Several petty states, reputed fiefs of the empire, pretended to deny this subjection. Rome in particular, which had been sacked by Charles V., severely treated by his successors, oppressed and obliged to pay a ransom by Joseph, the brother of this Charles VI., now flattered herself with the hope of being forever freed from the pretensions of the German emperors, who have all, since Otho I., imagined themselves successors to the rights of the ancient Cæsars. Agreeably to this, the German chancery to this day looks upon the other kingdoms of Europe as provinces rent

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from the empire, and in their protocol they give the title of majesty to no king whatever: the elector of Cologne styles himself chancellor of Italy, and the elector of Trier assumes the title of chancellor of Gaul. The German king, elected at Frankfort, was there declared king of the Romans, though he had not the least jurisdiction in Rome; and as such he exacted a tribute from all the provinces of Italy, wherever he was powerful enough to obtain them. This multiplicity of doubtful rights had, for more than seven hundred years, been the source of all the calamities and oppression that Italy had experienced during that period. Now it appeared highly probable that the troubles into which Germany would be plunged by the sudden death of Charles VI. would restore these people to that liberty which they had so long wished for in vain. The new revolution which everyone foresaw would be the consequence of the extinction of the house of Austria, whenever it should happen, might not only annihilate the rights, and even the name of Roman Empire, but it also appeared a matter of doubt whether Germany might not be divided among several princes, so powerful as, sooner or later, to refuse to acknowledge a supreme head, or, at least, to leave that head but a very small share of the authority of his predecessors.

The inheritance of the house of Austria, therefore, seemed on the point of passing into several hands. This inheritance consisted of Hungary and

Bohemia, kingdoms that, after having been for a long time elective, had been made hereditary by the princes of this house; of Austrian Suabia, called Austria anterior; of Upper and Lower Austria, conquered in the thirteenth century; of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Flanders, Burgau, the four forest towns, Breisgau, Friuli, Tyrol, the Milanese, Mantua, and the dukedom of Parma; as to the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, they were already in the hands of Don Carlos, son of Philip V., king of Spain.

Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Charles VI., founded her rights on the natural right of inheritance, solemnly confirmed by the Pragmatic Sanction, and guaranteed by almost all the European powers. On the other hand, Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, demanded the succession, by virtue of the will of Ferdinand I., brother of Charles V.

Augustus III., king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, alleged rights of a more recent nature: the rights of his own wife, eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph, elder brother of the deceased emperor.

The king of Spain extended his pretensions to all the dominions of the house of Austria, deriving his right from a wife of Philip II., daughter of the emperor Maximilian II., and from whom he — Philip V. — was descended. Here was already a great revolution in the affairs of Europe, when the house of France laid claim to the whole patrimony of

that of Austria. Louis XV. had as just a pretension to this succession as anyone, being descended in a direct line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by the wives of his great-grandfather and grandfather, Louis XIII. and XIV., but it appeared most prudent for him to act the part of umpire and protector, rather than that of a claimant; for he might, by that means, be able to determine this controverted succession, and that of the empire in concert with one-half of Europe; whereas, had he made only pretension to it himself, he was certain to have all Europe against him. This great cause of so many crowned heads was argued before the tribunal of Christendom, in a multitude of public manifestoes and memorials. Princes and private persons alike interested themselves in the dispute, so that a general war was looked on as inevitable; but, to the amazement and confusion of human policy, the storm began from an entirely unsuspected quarter.

A new kingdom had been created at the beginning of the present century. Emperor Leopold, availing himself of a right which the German emperor had always exercised, that of creating kings, had in 1701, erected ducal Prussia into a kingdom, in favor of Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg. Prussia was then no better than a vast desert, but Frederick William II., the second king, whose politics were different from those of all his contemporaries, expended nearly twenty-

five millions of our money in clearing lands, building towns, and peopling them. He summoned many families from Suabia and Franconia to settle there, and also invited more than sixteen thousand persons from Salzburg, whom he supplied with what was necessary for their maintenance, and to set them to work. While he was thus forming a new state, he created for himself, by economy, a power of a new kind: he laid by every month about sixty thousand German crowns, which made an immense treasure in the course of a reign of twenty-eight years. What he did not thus put into his coffers, he made use of to raise an army of nearly eighty thousand chosen men, whom he disciplined himself after a new manner, though he never availed himself of their service. But his son, Frederick III, availed himself of all those preparations of his father. It was well known to all Europe that this prince, who had tasted deeply of adversity, during his father's reign, had employed his leisure hours in cultivating his understanding, and improving the singular gifts he had received from nature. He was universally admired for talents which would have done honor to any private person, but he was not yet known to possess those of the monarch and the soldier; and Austria had no more apprehension of him than it had of the late king, his father, whom he succeeded three months before the imperial succession, and that of the house of Austria became vacant. Frederick foresaw the general confusion which that event

caused, and he did not hesitate an instant to enter sword in hand into Silesia, one of the richest provinces belonging to the daughter of Charles VI. He laid claim to four duchies — in that province — of which his ancestors had formerly been possessed, by purchases and family compacts, and to which they indeed renounced all claim by repeated public acts, as being too weak to support it; he, on the contrary, knowing himself sufficiently powerful, revived those pretensions.

France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony had been for some time busied in making a new emperor. Bavaria pressed France to procure for him some share in the Austrian succession. This elector laid claim to all those dominions by his manifestoes, but he did not dare to claim them all by his ministers. In the meantime, Maria Theresa, who had married the grand duke of Tuscany, took possession of all the dominions which had been left her by her father, and received the homage of the Austrian states at Vienna, Nov. 7, 1740. Bohemia and the provinces of Italy swore allegiance to her by their deputies, and she won the affections of all the Hungarians, by taking the ancient coronation oath of King Andrew II., made in 1222, and which was as follows: "If I, or any of my successors in time to come, shall attempt to violate your privileges, it shall be lawful for you and your descendants, in virtue of the promise I now make you, to defend yourselves, without being liable to be treated as rebels."

The aversion which the ancestors of the archduchess had always shown to enter into these engagements with their subjects, and the prudent step she took on this occasion, endeared her infinitely to the Hungarians, insomuch that they who had always been endeavoring to throw off the yoke of the house of Austria, embraced that of Maria Theresa; and, after two hundred years of sedition, quarrels, and civil wars, they suddenly became devoted to a family for which they had formerly expressed so much hatred. The queen was crowned in Presburg June 24, 1741; this was not till some months after her accession: however, she was not the less considered as a sovereign, and she had already established her reign in all hearts, by an affability and popularity which few of her ancestors had ever possessed. She banished from her court that form and restraint which frequently render princes hateful, without ever procuring them more respect. Her aunt, the archduchess, governess of the Low Countries, never suffered any person to eat at table with her; Maria Theresa, on the contrary, admitted to hers all her ladies and officers of distinction: the deputies of the state were permitted to speak to her with freedom; she never refused audience to anyone, and no person ever departed from her presence dissatisfied.

Her first care was to make her consort, the grand duke of Tuscany, the partner of all her dignities and possessions, under the title of co-regent, without

lessening her own sovereignty, or violating the Pragmatic Sanction. She mentioned her intention to the Austrian states the day she received their homage, and soon after put it into execution. She flattered herself, even then, that the dignities with which she adorned her royal consort would soon prepare the way for him to the imperial throne; but she had no money, and her troops were not only greatly diminished, but were scattered in the different parts of her extensive dominions.

The king of Prussia caused a proposal to be made to her, to yield Lower Silesia to him, and, in return, he offered to assist her with his whole interest, with his arms and five millions of our livres, in order to secure to her the possession of all the rest, and to obtain the empire for the grand duke, her consort. Some statesmen of no small abilities thought that the Germanic constitution was now on the point of being overturned; but this princess, in whose veins flowed the blood of a long line of emperors, disdained even the thought of sacrificing any part of her patrimony; and though weak, she was undaunted. Numbers of Austrians, considering only the grandeur of the court of Vienna and not its weakness, declared loudly that the elector of Brandenburg should be put under the ban of the empire. Even the ministers of that monarch were daunted at the sound of the Austrian name; but the king, who saw clearly that it was no more than a name, and that from the state of Europe

at that time he was sure to have allies, entered Silesia at the head of his troops in December, 1740.

At first it was proposed to put the words "*Pro Deo et patria*"—"for God and my country"—on his colors by way of device; but he struck out the first two, saying, that he would not have the name of God blended with the quarrels of men; and that his dispute was about a province, and not concerning religion. He caused the Roman eagle, displayed in relief, to be fixed on the top of a gilded staff, and to be carried before his own regiment of guards. This air of novelty laid him under a kind of necessity of being invincible. He also exhorted his soldiers to resemble in every respect the ancient Romans. As soon as he entered Silesia, he made himself master of almost all that province of which they had refused him a part; but henceforth things remained in an uncertain state.

General Neipperg marched to the relief of the invaded province with an army of twenty-four thousand Austrians, and obliged the king of Prussia to come to an engagement at Mollwitz, near the River Neisse. There it was that the Prussian infantry showed what it could do; the king's cavalry, less strong by half than that of the Austrians, was entirely broken; the first line of the infantry was taken in flank; the battle was given up for lost, all the king's baggage was pillaged, and he himself was in danger of being taken, was carried away by the crowd that surrounded him: but his

second line of infantry retrieved the fortune of the day, by that unshaken discipline to which they were so well accustomed, by their constant fire — which they repeat at least five times in a minute — and by charging their muskets with their iron ramrods in a moment. In a word, they gained the victory, and this event became the signal of an universal flame.

THE VICTORIES AND DEFEATS OF CHARLES ALBERT OF BAVARIA.

At the time that the king of Prussia seized Silesia, all Europe imagined him in alliance with France; but in this they were mistaken, as is frequently the case with those who argue only from appearances. It is certain that by this step the king of Prussia hazarded a great deal, as he himself has acknowledged; but then he foresaw that France would not let slip so fair an opportunity of seconding him. It was to the interest of that crown to favor her old ally, the elector of Bavaria, whose father had lost his all in fighting her cause, after the battle of Höchstädt. This very Charles Albert, the elector of Bavaria, had also been made prisoner by the Austrians, when a child, and his very title of Bavaria taken from him. France now found it to her interest to avenge him. It seemed no difficult matter to procure him at once the empire, and a part of the Austrian succession. By this step of the new house of Lorraine, Austria would be deprived

of that superiority which the old one had affected to have over the other princes of Europe; and moreover, it should abolish the old rivalry existing between the dependents of Bourbon and Austria, which would be effecting more than Henry IV. and Cardinal Richelieu had ever hoped to compass.

The king of Prussia foresaw this revolution even before it was begun, at the time that he set out for Silesia; and it is so true that he had not concerted any measures with Cardinal Fleury, that the marquis of Beauvau, who had been sent to Berlin, to compliment the new king on his accession, knew not on the first movement of the Prussian troops whether they were destined against France or Austria. King Frederick said to him, as he was going to set out: "I believe I am going to play your game; if I throw aces, we'll share the winnings."

This was the sole beginning of a negotiation then at a distance. The French ministry were for some time in dispute which side to take. Fleury, then in his eighty-fifth year, was not for staking his reputation, his old age, and his country, on the hazard of a new war. The Pragmatic Sanction signed, and authentically guaranteed, was a curb on him; but then, on the other hand, former treaties made with the house of Bavaria offered him encouragement. It is certain that this war was loudly demanded by court and city, notwithstanding that they afterward joined in condemning it. I heard a man of great distinction say: "Cardinal Richelieu pulled

down the house of Austria, and Cardinal Fleury will, if he can, erect a new one." These words, which came to the minister's ears, piqued him sensibly, but did not make him change his opinion.

It was the count, afterward marshal, duke of Belle-Isle, and his brother, nephew of the famous Fouquet, who, without having any share in public affairs, or as yet any access to the king, nor any power with the cardinal, brought him to a resolution.

Marshal Belle-Isle, though he had not done anything extraordinary, had a great reputation; and though he had been neither a minister nor a general, was thought better qualified than anyone to conduct either the army or the state; he saw things from all points of view, and was the only courtier perfectly acquainted with the interior springs of government, and almost the only officer who kept up military discipline. He was naturally fond of glory and of business, without which there can be no true glory; he was exact and indefatigable, and had a taste for the business of negotiation and for that of the cabinet and the field; but a very bad state of health frequently destroyed the fruits of these great talents. Always in action, and always full of projects, the strength of his body was not sufficient to support the efforts of his mind. He was alike admired for his politeness as a courtier, and for his honest frankness as a soldier. He found means to persuade, without the gift of eloquence, by always

appearing to be persuaded himself. He wrote in a plain style; and to read his despatches one would not suppose him to be possessed of such strong and active ideas.

Chevalier de Belle-Isle, his brother, had the same ambition and the same views, but somewhat deeper; this was the result of a hale constitution, which enabled him to support the greatest fatigues of business. His air was more gloomy than that of his brother, and not so engaging; but he subdued those hearts into which his brother had insinuated himself. His eloquence was like his courage, and under an appearance of reserve and deep thoughtfulness one might perceive something very powerful; in a word, he was capable of planning, undertaking, and executing anything.

These two men, not more united by the ties of blood than by a parity of ideas, undertook to change the face of all Europe. The cardinal opposed their plan of operations: he even delivered his opinion against it to the king in writing; and now, if he had been desirous to end his career in a truly glorious manner, he should have retired from business; but he had not resolution enough to quit the ministry, and to live retired, though on the very brink of the grave: in a word, the marshal and his brother had the management of all the necessary dispositions, and the old cardinal seemed to preside at the head of an undertaking which he disapproved.

Everything in the beginning seemed to favor the scheme: Marshal Belle-Isle was sent to the king of Prussia, then in his camp at Frankfort, and from there to Dresden, to settle the vast projects which the concurrence of so many princes seemed to render infallible. He in everything agreed with the king of Prussia, who promised, by a written agreement, 'not to make peace without the knowledge of his allies. Belle-Isle went into Saxony, where he gained such an ascendancy over the minds of that court that they promised him, as he himself has told me, to march a body of troops even before the signing of the treaty. The marshal also negotiated in all the courts of Germany, and was the life and soul of that body which was to procure the empire, and the hereditary crowns of the house of Austria, for a prince who could do nothing for himself. France furnished the elector of Bavaria at one and the same time with money, allies, votes, and arms; he had promised twenty thousand of his own troops, but could hardly raise twelve thousand, though assisted with French money. The king sent him the army he had promised him, and, at the same time, by letters patent, created him his lieutenant-general, whom he was about to make emperor of Germany.

The elector of Bavaria, thus strengthened, easily penetrated into Austria, while Maria Theresa could, with difficulty, make head against the king of Prussia. He soon made himself master of Passau, an

imperial city, governed by its bishop, and on the boundary between Upper Austria and Bavaria. He advanced as far as Linz, the capital of Upper Austria, and some of his troops skirmished within three leagues of Vienna. The alarm was now spread, the whole city was in confusion, and was prepared for a siege with all expedition; one whole suburb, and a palace adjacent to the fortifications, were entirely destroyed. The Danube was covered with vessels transporting the most valuable effects of the inhabitants to places of greater security. The elector of Bavaria even sent a summons to Count Kevenhuller, governor of Vienna.

England and Holland were at that time far from holding in their hands that balance to which they had long pretended. The States-General kept a profound silence on seeing Marshal Maillebois' army, which was then in Westphalia; and this same army overawed the king of England, who trembled for the safety of his Hanoverian dominions, where he then resided. He had raised twenty-five thousand men to succor Maria Theresa, and at the head of this very army he was obliged to abandon her and sign a neutrality. His domestics were furnished with passports for their persons and baggage by the French general, to carry them to London, and the king himself returned by the way of Westphalia and Holland.

At that time there was not one prince, either within or without the empire, who supported that

Pragmatic Sanction which so many of them had guaranteed. Vienna, weakly fortified on the side on which it was threatened, could not have held out long. Those who were best acquainted with Germany and the state of public affairs looked upon that city as already taken, by means of which the assistance Maria Theresa might otherwise have drawn from the Hungarians would be cut off, her dominions laid entirely open to the arms of the conqueror, all claims settled, and peace restored to the empire and to Europe. And even Cardinal de Fleury was so much encouraged by those favorable dispositions in a project to which he had in the beginning so great a repugnance, that he said to some officers who waited on him late to take leave: "Gentlemen, this will not be a long business, and I hope to see you again very soon."

The courage and resolution of Maria Theresa seemed to increase with the difficulties she had to surmount; she had quitted Vienna to throw herself into the arms of the Hungarians, whom her father and ancestors had treated with so much severity. Having assembled the four orders of the state at Presburg, she appeared in the midst of them, holding in her arms her eldest son, then an infant in his cradle, and addressing herself to them in Latin, which tongue she spoke perfectly, she expressed herself nearly in these words: "Forsaken by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, and attacked by my nearest relative, I have no other resource but

your fidelity, your courage, and my own constancy : to your care I surrender the daughter and son of your kings, who from you expect their safety." All the palatines, softened and animated by this short speech, drew their sabres, crying out with one voice : " Let us die for our king, Maria Theresa " ; for it is to be observed they always give the title of king to their queens ; and never, in fact, did princes better deserve that title. They shed tears in taking the oath to defend her, her eyes alone were dry ; but when she withdrew with her maids of honor, the tears which the greatness of her soul had hitherto suppressed burst forth in abundance. She was at this time *enceinte*, and had written, not long before, to her mother-in-law, the duchess of Lorraine, these words : " I, as yet, know not whether I shall have a single town left wherein to be brought to bed."

In this condition she excited the zeal of the Hungarians. England and Holland roused in her behalf, and supplied her with money ; she corresponded with all the states of the empire ; negotiated with the king of Sardinia, while her provinces furnished her with soldiers.

The whole kingdom of England took part in her distresses. The English are not a people who wait to know their sovereign's opinion before they give theirs. Some private persons proposed a gift for this princess. The duchess of Marlborough, whose husband had fought for Charles VI., assembled the

principal ladies of London, whom she induced to advance, for this cause, a hundred thousand pounds sterling, herself subscribing forty thousand of the sum. The queen of Hungary had the greatness of soul to decline the offer of this money, which was so generously made, resolving to wait for such sums as should be granted by the nation in parliament assembled.

It was generally believed that the victorious armies of France and Bavaria would have marched to the siege of Vienna; what the enemy fears should be always carried into execution. This was one of those decisive strokes, one of those lucky opportunities, which fortune presents once, and if neglected, are never to be recovered afterward. The elector of Bavaria had entertained thoughts of taking Vienna; but he had made no preparations for the siege, and had neither artillery nor ammunition. Cardinal Fleury had not extended his views so far as to put that capital into the elector's hands; he generally confined himself to projects of a moderate nature; he was for dividing the spoils before he had them, and did not intend that the emperor of his making should enjoy the whole succession.

The French army commanded by the elector of Bavaria, and reinforced with twenty thousand Saxons, marched toward Prague in November, 1741. Count Maurice of Saxony, natural brother of the king of Poland, took the place by escalade. This general, who inherited from his father his very

extraordinary bodily strength, as well as his real worth and sweetness of temper, was moreover endowed with the greatest talents for war. His great reputation induced the people of Courland to elect him their duke; but Rissio, having wrested from him what he received from the unanimous suffrages of a whole people, he consoled himself in the service of France and the social pleasures of a nation which was not as yet sufficiently acquainted with his merit.

It was necessary that Prague should be taken in a few days, or the enterprise abandoned. They were in want of provisions, the season was far advanced, and the town, though poorly fortified, could easily resist the first attack. General Ogilvie, an Irishman by birth, commanded in the place with a garrison of three thousand men, and the grand duke was in full march with an army of thirty thousand to its relief, and on November 25, was actually within five leagues of it, when that very night the French and Saxons made an assault on the town.

They made two attacks under cover of a desperate fire from their artillery, which drew the attention of the whole garrison to that side. In the meantime, Count Saxe silently had a single ladder fixed to the rampart of the New Town, in a part very distant from that where the assault was given. It happened that the ladder was not long enough, which obliged them to make up the deficiency by hand-barrows. M. de Chevert, at that time lieutenant-

colonel of the regiment of Beausse, was the first man that mounted. He was followed by Marshal Broglie's eldest son. They reach the rampart, and find only one sentinel at some distance. They are soon followed by others, and made themselves masters of the place. The whole garrison laid down their arms, and General Ogilvie, with his three thousand men, surrendered, prisoners of war. Count Saxe saved the town from being pillaged, and, what was very extraordinary, the conquerors and the conquered were mixed pellmell for three days; French, Saxons, Bavarians, and Bohemians walked the streets in common, without distinction, and without shedding a drop of blood. Thus Prague was taken by escalade.

The elector of Bavaria, who had just arrived at the camp, transmitted an account of this success to the king, in such terms as a general would use to the prince whose armies he commanded. He made his public entry into the capital of Bohemia the same day on which it was taken, and was crowned in the month of December. In the meantime, the grand duke, finding he had not been able to save the town, and that subsistence failed in the quarters which he occupied, retired to the southern part of the province, and left the command of the army to his brother, Prince Charles of Lorraine.

During these transactions the king of Prussia made himself master of Moravia, a province that lies between Bohemia and Silesia; so that Maria

Theresa seemed overpowered on all sides. Her competitor had been crowned archduke of Austria at Linz; he had been lately crowned king of Bohemia at Prague, from whence he went to Frankfort to receive the imperial diadem, under the name of Charles VII. All the electors had suspended the vote of Bohemia, while that province remained in the possession of the queen of Hungary, on pretext that a woman had no right of suffrage. The elector of Bavaria, now master of Prague, might at the instant of her election have made use of the vote of Bohemia in his own favor; but, as he had no need of it, he suffered it to lie dormant.

Marshal Belle-Isle, who had followed him from Prague to Frankfort, appeared rather as one of the principal electors than as the ambassador of France. He managed all the votes, and directed all the negotiations; he received all the honors due to the representative of a king who bestowed the imperial crown. The elector of Mentz, who is president of the election, gave him the right hand in his own palace, and the ambassador, on the contrary, gave the right hand in his own house to electors only, taking place of all other princes. His instructions as plenipotentiary were delivered to the German chancery in French, although that court had formerly required all such papers to be presented in the Latin tongue, as being the proper language of a government which assumes the title and denomination of the Roman Empire.

Charles Albert was elected in the most tranquil and solemn manner on Jan. 4, 1742. He now appeared covered with glory, and at the summit of happiness; but fortune soon assumed a different aspect, and his very elevation rendered him one of the most unfortunate princes on earth.

The fault that had been committed in not providing a sufficient number of cavalry began now to be felt. Marshal Belle-Isle was sick at Frankfort, and besides he could not at one and the same time conduct negotiation, and command an army at a distance. Misunderstandings began to arise among the allies, the Saxons complained greatly of the Prussians, these of France, and these latter cried out likewise in their turn.

Maria Theresa was supported by her own magnanimity, and by the money of England, Holland, and Venice, by loans on Flanders, but above all, by the desperate ardor of her troops, which she assembled from all quarters. The French army was depleted by fatigue, sickness, and desertions; their leaders had but little credit, and recruits were difficult to secure. The French did not find the same fortune as Gustavus Adolphus, who opened his campaign in Germany with less than ten thousand men, yet in a short time found his forces increased to thirty thousand, augmenting them in proportion as he advanced.

The French army, which on its entering Bohemia should have amounted to forty-five thousand men,

consisted on its leaving France of no more than thirty-two thousand, and in this number there was but eight thousand horse. Every day then weakened the victorious French, and added new strength to the Austrians. Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother of the Grand Duke, was in the heart of Bohemia, at the head of thirty-five thousand effective men. The country was in his interest, and he began a defensive war very successfully, by keeping the enemy in continual alarms, cutting off their convoys, and harassing them perpetually on all sides by swarms of hussars, Croats, pandours, and talpaches.

The pandours are Slavonians, inhabiting the banks of the Drave, and the Save; they wear long cloaks, and in their girdles they carry pistols, a sabre, and a poniard.

The talpaches are Hungarian infantry; they go armed with a musket, two pistols, and a sabre.

The Croats, called in France *cravates*, are natives of Croatia.

The hussars are Hungarian cavalry, mounted upon small horses, which are extremely swift and hardy. These fall on and cut off advanced posts that are weak and are not properly supported with cavalry, which was everywhere the case of the French and Bavarian troops.

The elector of Bavaria thought a small number of troops should be sufficient to secure a vast extent of country, which it was imagined the queen of

Hungary was in no condition to retake; but herein he was deceived. Everything was retaken, and the seat of war was at length transported from the Danube to the Rhine.

Cardinal Fleury, on seeing all his hopes disconcerted, and so fair a beginning succeeded by such a train of disasters, wrote a letter to General Königseck, which was delivered to him by Marshal Belle-Isle. In this letter the cardinal excuses himself on the score of the war, which, he says, was undertaken against his consent; and acknowledges that he had been hurried out of his own measures: "Many people know how strenuously I opposed the resolutions which have been taken; and that I was, in a manner, compelled to acquiesce in them. Your excellency is too well acquainted with all that passed not to guess the person who left nothing undone to determine the king to enter a league so contrary to my liking and my principles."

The only answer the queen of Hungary made was by causing the cardinal's letter to be printed. It was easy to foresee the ill effects this letter must have produced. In the first place the whole blame of the war was thrown on the very general who was commissioned to negotiate with Count Königseck; and to render his person odious was not the way to make his negotiations successful. Secondly, this letter plainly acknowledged a weakness in the ministry; and he must have had a very slender knowledge of mankind who could not foresee that

advantage would be taken of this weakness, that the allies of France would grow cool, and her enemies gather more courage.

The cardinal, finding his letter made public, wrote a second, in which he complains to the Austrian general, and says that he shall not hereafter write his mind so freely to him. This second letter did him more harm than the first. Indeed, he disavowed them both in the public papers; and this disavowal, of which no one was the dupe, crowned all those imprudent proceedings that milder judges excused in an old man of eighty-seven, worn out with a series of ill successes. At length, the emperor offered proposals for a peace to the court of London, and particularly to secularize the two bishoprics in dispute in favor of Hanover; but the English ministry, not thinking the emperor's interposition in the least necessary toward obtaining these bishoprics, insulted his proposals by making them public, and the emperor found himself reduced to the necessity of disavowing his offers of peace, as Cardinal Fleury had disowned the war.

The dispute now became warmer than ever; France on the one hand, and England on the other, under the name of auxiliaries, though principals in fact, strove to grasp the balance of Europe, sword in hand. Holland at length declared in favor of Maria Theresa. Germany, Flanders, and Italy were alternately the theatre of war, as happened in 1701; and the house of Bourbon was, for the

second time, obliged to support a war against almost all the powers of Europe.

THE WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

Europe, in general, never beheld such glorious days as from the conclusion of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, to the beginning of 1756. Trade flourished from St. Petersburg to Cadiz, the fine arts were everywhere cherished, and a mutual intercourse existed between all nations; so that Europe resembled a large family reconciled, after having been long at variance. The new misfortunes which were about to befall this part of the world, seemed foretold by the dreadful earthquakes which were felt in many of its provinces, but more terribly in Lisbon than elsewhere. The greater part of that capital was thrown to the ground, and upward of thirty thousand of its inhabitants were buried in the ruins. This fearful scourge extended itself to Spain; the little town of Setubal — commonly called St. Ubes — was almost wholly destroyed, and others were considerably damaged. The sea, making a breach over the walls of Cadiz, carried away everything it met in its passage. These shocks were not confined to Europe alone, the continent of Africa had its share of desolation; and the same day that the misfortune befell Lisbon a whole nation of Arabs in the neighborhood of Morocco were swallowed up by the opening of the earth, and the cities

of Fez and Mekinez were even greater sufferers than Lisbon.

This dire disaster should have made mankind look into themselves and consider that, as the common victims of fate, they should comfort instead of oppress one another. The Portuguese imagined they should deprecate the wrath of Heaven by burning the Jews and others of their fellow creatures at an *auto da fé*, or "act of faith," as it is called, which other nations look on as an act of inhumanity, and even at that time the other powers of Europe were preparing to stain with blood the earth that as yet trembled under their feet.

The first fatal catastrophe happened in Sweden; that kingdom had been changed to a republic, in which the sovereign was no more than the principal magistrate. He was obliged to comply with the majority of votes in the senate; the states, which were composed of the nobles, the burghers, the clergy, and the peasants, had the power of altering the laws of the senate, but the king could not.

Certain of the nobles, more attached to the person of their prince than to the new laws of the country, entered into a conspiracy against the senate in his favor; the plot was discovered, and the conspirators were punished with death. And what in a government purely monarchical would have passed for a virtuous and meritorious deed was deemed an infamous and treasonable act in a country now free.

Thus the same actions are virtuous or criminal, according to times and places.

This affair alienated the minds of the Swedes from their king, and was partly the occasion of their declaring war against Frederick, king of Prussia, whose sister had been married to the king of Sweden.

The revolutions which the king of Prussia and his enemies were preparing at that time were like a flame smothering beneath the embers, that soon afterward burst forth with fury to the desolation of Europe; but the first sparks came from America.

THE WAR IN GERMANY.

Louis XIV. has been admired for making progress alone against Germany, England, Italy, and Holland, joined in league against him. We have seen an event still more extraordinary; an elector of Brandenburg, who alone has stood against the united forces of the houses of Austria and Bourbon, Russia, Sweden, and one-half of the empire.

This is a prodigy which can only be attributed to the excellent discipline of his troops, and the superior genius of their leader. Chance may decide the fate of one battle; but when we see the weaker party resisting those so much superior to him for the space of seven years together, in a country altogether open, we can no longer suppose this to be the work of fortune; and, in this respect, the present

war differs from all those which have hitherto ravaged the face of the earth.

We have already taken notice that the second king of Prussia, who was the only sovereign of Europe possessed of a treasure, and who had brought his troops to a good discipline, established a new kind of power in Germany. We have seen also how the preparations made by the father emboldened the son alone to brave the Austrian power, and seize Silesia.

The empress-queen was waiting with patience for a favorable opportunity to repossess herself of that province. It would formerly have been a matter of indifference to the other powers of Europe whether a petty country annexed to Bohemia belonged to one house or to another; but politics, like the other ideas of the human mind, having been refined rather than improved of late, this trifling dispute has put arms into the hands of more than half a million men. There never had been so great a number of effective fighting men, either in the Crusades, or in the irruptions of the conquerors of Asia. The following is the manner in which this great scene opened.

Elizabeth, empress of Russia, was closely allied with the empress-queen, Maria Theresa, by ancient treaties, by their common interest, which united them against the Ottoman empire, and by a mutual inclination. Augustus III., king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, who had been reconciled to the

empress-queen, and was naturally attached to Russia, to whom he was indebted for his title of king of Poland, was intimately connected with both princesses. These three powers had each their subjects of complaint against Frederick, king of Prussia. Maria Theresa saw Silesia rent from her patrimony. Augustus and his council wanted reparation for the ravages committed in Saxony, by the king of Prussia, in the war of 1740, and there were some complaints of a personal nature between that monarch and the empress Elizabeth.

These three powers, all equally exasperated against the king of Prussia, entered into the most intimate correspondence, the effects of which were greatly feared by that prince. Austria was augmenting her forces, those of Elizabeth were ready; but the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was not in a condition to undertake anything; his electoral finances were exhausted, and he had no place of any strength to stop the Prussians from marching to Dresden. And as order and economy had rendered Brandenburg a formidable state, so dissipation and neglect had enfeebled Saxony; and the Saxon council were not easily persuaded to enter into any measures that might prove of fatal consequence to the state.

The king of Prussia, without any hesitation, and without consulting anyone, resolved, in 1755, to be beforehand with those powers whose proceedings had given him so much umbrage. He began by

FREDERICK WILLIAM I.



Angus

making an alliance with the king of England, elector of Hanover; he secured the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the house of Brunswick; and thus gave up his alliance with France.

It was at this period, as we have elsewhere observed, that the ancient feuds between the houses of Bourbon and Austria, which had subsisted ever since the time of the emperor Charles V., and Francis I., of France, gave place to a reconciliation and friendly union, which appeared sincere and permanent, and which greatly surprised all Europe. This union was, by the English parliament, called an unnatural alliance; but when the English wanted to reign masters, it was a very natural one, and in no way contravened the Peace of Westphalia. It appeared highly probable that these two powerful houses, thus united and seconded by Russia, Sweden, and several of the German powers, might keep the rest of Europe in awe.

The treaty was signed at Versailles, between Louis XV. and Maria Theresa. Abbé de Bernis, afterward cardinal, had the sole honor of bringing about this famous treaty, which overturned all the edifice of Cardinal Richelieu, and, in all appearance, erected another, more noble and extensive, on its ruins. De Bernis was soon afterward made minister of state, and almost as soon disgraced.

This step only served to make the king of Prussia more alert to take the field. He marched his troops into Saxony, which was in a manner defence-

less, designing to make this province a kind of rampart against the Austrian power, and a means of attacking her more effectually. He immediately made himself master of Leipsic, and a part of his army appeared before the gates of Dresden. King Augustus thereupon retired, as his father had done before the victorious Charles XII. He quitted his capital, and went to his camp at Pirna, in the neighborhood of Königstein, on the road to Bohemia, and on the banks of the Elbe, where he thought himself in safety.

Frederick then entered Dresden as a master, though under the name of a protector. The queen of Poland, daughter of the emperor Joseph, had refused to join her consort in his flight, and remained in the city. They demanded of her the keys of the public archives; and on her refusing to deliver them up, prepared to break open the doors. The queen then placed herself in their way, hoping that they would respect her person and courage; but, without regarding either, they forcibly opened in her sight the sacred deposits of the state. It was especially necessary for the king of Prussia to get into his hands authentic proofs of the designs of the elector of Saxony against him. He succeeded, and found sufficient testimonies of the apprehensions they had of him; and yet these very apprehensions, which should have induced the court of Dresden to put itself in a posture of defence, only served to make it the victim of a power-

ful neighbor; and it was perceived too late that Saxony, considering the situation in which it had been for such a number of years, should have given all its attention to warlike concerns, instead of pleasure. There are certain situations, in which the only alternative left is to prepare for resistance, to conquer or to perish.

On the first news of this invasion the aulic council of the empire declared the king of Prussia a disturber of the public peace, and a rebel; but it was not easy to give this denunciation any weight against a prince who had a hundred and fifty thousand fighting men under his command. He answered their edicts by giving battle to the Austrian army.

This first battle was not decisive, as to the numbers slain on either side; but it proved so with respect to its consequences. The king, in spite of the utmost efforts of the Austrians, blocked up the Saxons in their camp at Pirna; and the king of Poland's little army, consisting of only about thirteen or fourteen thousand men, surrendered prisoners of war in a week after the battle.

Augustus, in this very extraordinary capitulation, which was the only military event that happened between him and the king of Prussia, only requested that his own regiment of guards might not be made prisoners; but he was answered by Frederick that he could not grant that request, for he was very certain these guards would serve against him, and he did not choose to be at the trouble of taking them

twice. This reply was a terrible lesson to all princes to make themselves powerful, when they have powerful neighbors.

The king of Poland, having thus lost his electorate and his army, was forced to apply to his enemy for passports to carry him into Poland, which were very readily granted; and they had moreover the insulting politeness to furnish him with post-horses. He went then from his hereditary into his elective dominions, where he found not a single person willing to take up arms to support his sovereign. The whole electorate of Saxony was put under contribution, and the king of Prussia found sufficient supplies in the countries he had invaded to defray the expenses of carrying on the war. The queen of Poland, who had not followed her husband, remained behind in Dresden, where she died of grief a short time afterward. All Europe pitied the sufferings of this distressed family; but in the course of these calamities there were a thousand other families that experienced as great sufferings, though not of so public a nature. The civil magistrates of Leipsic made remonstrances against the contributions which the victor had imposed on them, and which they declared themselves utterly incapable of raising: they were answered by being thrown into prison, and they paid the sums demanded.

Never have so many battles been fought as during the course of this war. The Russians entered

the Prussian territories by way of Poland. The French, now auxiliaries to the queen of Hungary, fought for the recovery of Silesia; a country which a few years before they had assisted to take from her, when allies of the king of Prussia. The king of England, who had formerly shown himself the most zealous supporter of the house of Austria, was now its most formidable enemy. Sweden, which, in the preceding war, had struck at the very existence of that house, now sent its forces to serve in its armies against the king of Prussia, for a subsidy of nine hundred thousand francs. These troops were guilty of the least ravages of any.

Germany now beheld itself torn to pieces by many more national troops than in the famous thirty years' war.

While the Prussians were marching through Poland to the assistance of the empress-queen, the French entered Germany by the duchy of Cleves, and by Wesel, which had been abandoned by the Prussians, and they took all the country of Hesse; they then marched toward the electorate of Hanover, in order to give battle to an army of English, Hanoverians, and Hessians, commanded by the same duke of Cumberland who had attacked Louis XV. at Fontenoy.

The king of Prussia went in search of the Austrian army in Bohemia, and at the same time left a considerable body of troops to oppose the Russians. The troops of the empire, called the army of exe-

cution, were ordered to penetrate into Saxony, now entirely in the possession of the Prussians. Thus Germany was at once a prey to six formidable armies, that devoured her very vitals.

The king of Prussia marched immediately to attack Prince Charles of Lorraine, the emperor's brother, and General Brown, near Prague. The battle was bloody; but the Prussian army proved victorious, and obliged part of the Austrian infantry to take shelter in the city of Prague, in which they were blocked by the victorious troops for above two months. There were a great number of princes in the town. Provisions began to grow scarce, and it was generally believed that Prague would fall a sacrifice, and that the house of Austria would suffer more from Frederick than it had done from Gustavus Adolphus.

But the conqueror lost all the fruits of his success by grasping at everything at once. Count Kaunitz, prime minister of the empress-queen, a man as active in the cabinet as the king of Prussia was in the field, had already assembled an army under the command of Marshal Daun. The king of Prussia did not hesitate an instant to attack this army, trusting that the reputation of his late victories would strike terror into the enemy's troops. This army once dispersed, Prague must necessarily capitulate after a short bombardment, and he was then absolute master of Germany. Marshal Daun had intrenched his army on the brow of a hill. The

Prussians attacked the trenches seven different times, with incredible fury, and were as often repulsed. Frederick lost nearly twenty-five thousand men, killed and wounded, runaways and deserters. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who was shut up in Prague, made a sally, and pursued the Prussians. The change in the face of things was now as great as the king of Prussia's hopes and exploits had been before this event.

The French, on their side, powerfully supported Maria Theresa. Marshal d'Estrées, who commanded their army, had already passed the Weser, and followed close upon the duke of Cumberland, who was marching toward Minden; he came up with that general at Hastenbeck, gave him battle, and gained a complete victory. The princes of Condé and Conti gave the first proofs of their military talents in this battle, and the blood-royal of France disputed the honor of the field with that of England. And here let us observe that, by some intrigues at court, Marshal d'Estrées had been removed from the command of the army, and the orders were already gone forth to put this affront upon him when he gained this victory. The courtiers pretended to find fault with him for not having conquered the whole electorate of Hanover, and not having marched as far as Magdeburg. They thought that everything was to be terminated in a single campaign. Such was the confidence of the French court, in 1741, when, after having made an

emperor, it thought to dispose of all the dominions of the house of Austria ; and in the beginning of the age of Louis XIV., when that monarch and Philip V. of Spain, having made themselves masters of Italy and Flanders, and being seconded by two electors, thought to give laws to all Europe, and found themselves miserably deceived.

The French ministry had despatched Marshal Richelieu to take the command of the army from d'Estrées, before it was acquainted with the important victory that general had gained. Marshal Richelieu, remarkable for the charms of his person and understanding, and famous by the defence of Genoa and the taking of Minorca, marched to give the duke of Cumberland battle, and obliged him to retreat before him as far as the mouth of the Elbe, where he compelled him to capitulate with his whole army. This capitulation was more singular and glorious than the most complete victory would have been. By the articles of the convention, the duke of Cumberland obliged himself to retire beyond the Elbe, and to leave the country open to the operations of the French against the king of Prussia.

The ruin of that monarch now seemed inevitable. The severe defeat he had met with before Prague, another which his troops had suffered near Landshut, on the confines of Silesia, and lately a battle, which he had hazarded with the Russians, and in which neither side had the victory, had weakened him almost beyond possibility of recovery.

He was in danger of being hemmed in on one side by the army under Marshal Richelieu, and by that of the empire on the other, while the Austrians and Russians were marching into the heart of Silesia. His destruction now seemed so certain that the aulic council no longer kept any measures, but openly declared him to have incurred the ban of the empire, and to have forfeited all his fiefs, rights, privileges, immunities, etc. Nay, he himself seemed to think his situation altogether desperate, and that nothing was left him but a glorious death. On this occasion, he made a kind of philosophical testament; and so little was his mind affected by this series of misfortunes that he wrote it in French verse. I am persuaded this anecdote is altogether new, and singular in its kind.

The prince of Soubise, a general of intrepid courage, great prudence, and regularity of conduct, marched to give him battle in Saxony, at the head of a strong army, which the ministry had further reinforced by a part of that under Marshal Richelieu. This army was joined by that of the circles, commanded by the prince of Hildburghausen.

Frederick, thus surrounded on all sides by enemies, advanced with a resolution to sell his life dear, and perish in the midst of Soubise's ranks; while he took all the precautions to gain the victory. He went to reconnoitre the joint armies, and then made a retreat in order to secure an advantageous position for his own. The prince of Hildburghausen

was for attacking him without delay. This resolution was necessarily followed by the French, who acted only as auxiliaries; and they advanced into the neighborhood of Rossbach and Merseburg, and marched toward the Prussians, who were concealed under their tents; when, suddenly, the tents were struck, and the whole Prussian army was seen advancing in order of battle between two hills lined with artillery.

At this unexpected sight the French and imperial troops were struck with astonishment. The French soldiery had for some years been taught the Prussian drill, which had been afterward altered in several of its evolutions, so that the men no longer knew what they were at; their former way of fighting was a hazard, and they were not sufficiently masters of the new method. When they saw the Prussians advancing toward them in this extraordinary formation, which was utterly unknown to all other nations, they thought they beheld their masters. The Prussian artillery was likewise much better served than that of the combined army. The imperial troops gave way almost at the first onset. The French cavalry line was broken by the Prussian cannon; a general panic prevailed; the whole body of French infantry retreated before six battalions of the enemy; in short, it could not be called a battle, but a powerful army had presented itself in battle array, and then ran. The event of the next day is unparalleled in history, only two regiments

of Swiss remained on the field of battle. The prince of Soubise rode up to them, and putting himself at their head, made them file off by slow degrees. This extraordinary day's work once more changed the face of affairs.

At this very time fresh disasters befell the army under Marshal Richelieu, which had been greatly weakened by the drafts the ministry had made from it. The court of France refused to ratify the convention which the marshal had made with the duke of Cumberland. The English court, not unjustly, thought themselves released from their engagements. The ratification, afterward signed at Versailles, did not arrive till five days after the misfortune at Rossbach, and the English in a short time retook the whole electorate of Hanover.

Extraordinary and unprecedented as was the affair of Rossbach, it was not more so than what was done by the king of Prussia after that unexpected victory. He hastened into Silesia, where his troops had been beaten by the Austrians, who had made themselves masters of Schweidnitz and Breslau. But for this great diligence of his, Silesia had been wholly lost, and the battle of Rossbach would have been of no advantage to him.

In about a month's time he came up with the Austrian army, which he immediately attacked with the greatest fury. The engagement lasted more than five hours, when victory declared wholly in favor of Frederick, who immediately took possession of

Schweidnitz and Breslau. After this there followed a continual series of battles, lost and won. The French were, for the most part, always unfortunate; but their court was not in the least discouraged; on the contrary, it exerted itself to the utmost to send fresh supplies of troops into Germany.

The king of Prussia, on his side, was weakened by the numerous battles he fought; insomuch that the Russians took from him the whole kingdom of Prussia, and laid waste all Pomerania, while he was ravaging Saxony. The Austrians and Russians successively entered Berlin. Almost all the treasure his father and himself had amassed was necessarily spent in this war, alike ruinous to all parties; and he was obliged to have recourse to the English for subsidies. The Austrians, French, and Russians, without being discouraged by their failures, followed him wherever he went. His family dared not to remain in Berlin, which was continually exposed to the insults of the enemy; and as to himself, after a series of fortunate events, he was, in 1762, intrenched under the cannon of Breslau. Maria Theresa seemed on the eve of recovering all Silesia; Frederick had lost Dresden, and all that part of Saxony which borders upon Bohemia; the king of Poland flattered himself with the hope of recovering his hereditary dominions, when the death of Elizabeth, empress of Russia, gave a new turn to the face of affairs, which had already undergone so many changes.

The new emperor, Peter III., had for some time been secretly a friend to the king of Prussia. He now not only made peace with him the instant he came to the throne, but became his ally against the empress-queen, whom Elizabeth had so warmly and constantly befriended. Thus, by a sudden change, the king of Prussia, who had been so hard pressed by the Austrian and Russian forces in concert, now prepared to enter Bohemia with the assistance of those very Russians who had fought against him but a few weeks before.

But this new state of affairs was again overturned almost as soon as formed, by a sudden revolution in Russia.

The new czar wanted to repudiate his wife, which stirred up the whole nation against him, whose affections he should have endeavored to gain. His wife thwarted the design against her, the army and the people declared in her favor, and Peter III. was confined in prison, where he died, in a few days, of a violent fit of the colic, to which he was subject.

The king of Prussia, though left to himself, resolved to continue the war. But what would have been the consequence of this chaos of events? The spilling of a prodigious quantity of blood; the raising of numerous armies, which would have done much more mischief than great exploits; the exhausting of whole nations for quarrels with which they had nothing to do; the destruction and plun-

dering of numerous towns; and, lastly, the ruin of the finances of those princes who had a share in the war.

And what have become of the enormous sums that had been lavished in this bloody contention? Why, they were hidden in the coffers of two or three hundred private persons, who acted as paymasters and commissaries to the respective armies; the contractors and the bankers of Frankfort, Hamburg, Dantzic, and Holland, made immense fortunes; and the Germans were better soldiers and richer tradesmen than they ever were before. Those disasters, which made everyone tremble, will speedily be forgotten, and lost in the crowd of general events, or swallowed up in a succession of new changes.

THE ENGLISH VICTORIES.

When Marshal Richelieu, in 1756, laid siege to Port Mahon, the capital of the island of Minorca, the English sent Admiral Byng, with a strong naval force, to drive the French fleet off the island, and raise the siege.

The English, who looked on themselves as masters of the sea, were incensed at Admiral Byng for not having beaten the French fleet: they accused him with having kept at too great a distance from the French admiral: he was tried for his life by a council of war, called in that country a court-

martial, who condemned him to be shot. The sentence was unanimously confirmed by the king and the council. Never, perhaps, was there an instance of a more severe sentence.

At this time there appeared a book, entitled: "An Estimate of the Manners of the Times," of which there were no less than five editions printed in London in the space of three months. In this treatise, the author proves that the English nation had entirely degenerated; that the more extensive its trade, the nearer it was to its ruin; that it was wrong to make use of the riches it possessed; that its inhabitants were no longer so robust and hardy as in former times; that its soldiers had lost their courage; and that this was owing to the great number of philosophers who were so wicked and senseless as to acknowledge only one God, and to be neither Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Quakers, Mennonites nor Anabaptists. We often meet with writings of this kind in France, of which no one takes any notice; but this roused the sensibility of the English nation, and produced the following consequences:

They attacked, almost at one and the same time, all the seacoast of France, and her possessions in Asia, Africa, and America.

The first conquest they made was of Chander-nagor, an important post the French possessed at the entry of the Ganges in the East Indies. This was the great warehouse for all the curious merchandise we have out of the Mogul's country.

The English and French East India companies, as has already been observed, had for a long time carried on their trade in that part of the world sword in hand, and had engaged in their quarrels the nabobs or rajahs of the country, who are viceroys, or rather petty kings, sometimes independent, and at others subject to the Great Mogul, according to the ability of that emperor; that is, as he was more or less powerful.

After taking the town and fort of Chander-nagor, the English continued without intermission to ruin the French trade in India. The Mogul government was so bad and weak that it could not prevent the European traders from forming alliances, and making war upon one another, even in the heart of the empire. The English in particular had the boldness to attack Surat, one of the finest and largest trading cities in India, and which belonged to the emperor, which they took and plundered, destroying all the French warehouses, and carrying off much booty; an act for which every Englishman should have been driven out of the country; but such was the inability of the weak though splendid court of the Great Mogul, that it did not even dare to take any notice of this flagrant outrage.

At length, after having forcibly taken almost all the ships belonging to the French East India company, they laid siege to Pondicherry, which was not defended as in the time of Governor Dupleix,

but surrendered at discretion; so that the French had nothing then left in that part of the world but the regret of having expended immense sums, during the space of forty years, to support a company that had never been of the least advantage to the state, had not even made a single dividend to the proprietors or creditors out of the produce of its trade; that had subsisted altogether by underhand dealings, and had been supported only by a part of the revenue on tobacco, which had been granted to it by the king: a memorable, though perhaps useless, example of the little knowledge the French have hitherto had of the extensive and ruinous trade to India.

While the English were thus ruining the French, by sea and land, in the East, they likewise drove them out of the West Indies. The French were in possession of the Senegal River, one of the branches of the Niger, where they had several forts, and carried on quite a trade in elephants' teeth, gold dust, and negroes, which latter were sold by their princes like beasts of burden, and who sometimes sell their own children, or even themselves, for slaves to the Europeans, who carry them over to America. The English took all the forts the French had built in these countries, together with all the valuable commodities they were possessed of, to the value of three millions of livres.

The last settlement the French had now left in this part of Africa was Gorée, which soon after sur-

rendered at discretion; and France was now stripped of all her possessions in that part of the world.

But her losses in America were still greater. Without entering into a detail of the several engagements between the two nations, and the taking of all our forts one after another, let it suffice to say, that the English made themselves masters of Louisbourg for the second time; that place being as ill-fortified and badly provisioned as it had been the first. In short, the English took Surat, at the mouth of the river Indus, and made themselves masters of Quebec and all Canada, at the extremity of North America; the French troops, who had run the risk of an engagement in order to save Quebec, having been defeated, and almost all cut in pieces.

While the English were thus vigorously attacking the French on the continent of America, they cast their eyes on the islands belonging to that crown; and Gaudeloupe, a small but flourishing settlement, where the best sugars are made, fell into their hands almost without striking a blow. They afterward took Martinique, which was the best and richest of all the French colonies.

France could never have met with such a series of misfortunes, had she not lost almost all the ships she sent out to prevent them; no sooner did a fleet put to sea, than it was either taken or destroyed; new ships were put on the stocks, or fitted out to repair the former loss; but this was only working

for the English, into whose hands they were certain to fall, almost as soon as they had left their harbors.

The government, in order to avenge itself for so many losses, meditated a descent on Ireland. This project, after costing immense sums, proved abortive; for no sooner had the fleet designed to make this descent left the port of Brest than the ships of which it consisted were dispersed or taken by the enemy, or lost in the mouth of a little river called the Vilaine, whither they had run in vain for shelter. The English after this took the island of Belle-Île, in sight of the French coast, from whence no relief could be sent.

Never had the English so great a superiority by sea, though they have always been masters over the French in that element. They ruined the French navy in 1741, and utterly destroyed that of Louis XIV., in the War of the Spanish Succession. They were masters of the sea in the reigns of Louis XIII. and Henry IV., and still more so in the unfortunate times of the League. Henry VIII. of England had the same advantage over Francis I.

If you look back to former times, you will find that the fleets of Charles VI. and Philip of Valois could never make progress against those of Henry V. and Edward III.

But what can be the reason of this continual superiority? Is it not that the sea is the essential element of the English, whereas the French can on occasion do without it, and that every nation — as

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we have elsewhere observed — always succeeds best in those things of which it stands absolutely in need? May it not arise from the capital of England being a seaport, whereas Paris, the metropolis of France, sees only a few boats passing up the Seine? Or, lastly, may not the English climate and soil produce more vigorous and robust men, with minds more fitted to labors and fatigues, than those of France, as it produces dogs and horses more fitted for the chase? But then, on the other hand, we know that the inhabitants of all that part of the coast of France, from Bordeaux to Picardy and Flanders, are capable of undergoing the hardest labor; and the province of Normandy alone once conquered all England.

Affairs were in this deplorable situation both by sea and land, when there arose a person of active and enterprising genius, who undertook to retrieve all. He was sensible that France was not able, by her own strength alone, to repair the losses she had sustained. He therefore engaged the court of Spain to espouse her quarrel: he united all the branches of the house of Bourbon in one common cause; and made the interests of Spain, Austria, and France the same. Portugal was in fact a kind of province of England, who drew from it nearly five millions yearly; it was therefore thought advisable to strike the first blow here; and Don Carlos, lately become king of Spain, by the death of his brother, determined to invade the Portuguese territories. This

was, perhaps, one of the greatest political strokes to be met with in history.

FRANCE FROM 1750 TILL 1762.

Some time before the breaking out of this war, as also during its course, the interior government of France had been disturbed by the old and inextinguishable dispute between the secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, as the limits of neither have as yet been properly ascertained, as is the case in England, and many other countries, particularly in Russia; this will prove the source of dangerous dissensions, so long as the rights of the crown and those of the different orders of the state remain in dispute.

In 1750 we had a minister of the finances, who had the courage to order the clergy and religious orders to deliver a record of their effects, in order that the king might see from their revenues what they owed to the government. Nothing could be more just and equitable than this proposal; but it was attended with consequences that had the appearance of sacrilege. The old bishop of Marseilles wrote to the comptroller-general as follows: "Do not put yourself under the necessity of disobeying either God or the king; you cannot but know to whom you owe the preference."

This letter, sent in the name of a superannuated prelate, who could not write, was, in reality, the

work of a Jesuit, named Lemaire, who had the direction of the conscience of him and his household, and was a fanatic from principle, which are ever the most dangerous kind of people.

The minister then was obliged to drop his design, which he should not have undertaken, unless he could have gone through with it. Some of the clergy took advantage of this, and endeavored to cut out work for the government by sounding the alarm on spiritual matters, hoping that the general confusion would prevent any attack being made on their temporals. They knew that the Bull *Unigenitus* was held in abhorrence by the common people; they accordingly resolved to oblige all dying persons to give a certificate or billet of confession, which billets were to be signed by those priests who were sticklers for the bull, without which there could be no extreme unction, nor administration of the sacrament in the last moments; and these two comforts were refused without pity to all those who were appellants — that is, who objected to the bull — or who confessed themselves to appellants. The archbishop of Paris joined in this scheme more through a dogmatical zeal than the spirit of cabal.

And now every family was alarmed, all schism was renounced, those who were called Jansenists began to declare openly that, if it was so difficult to obtain the sacraments, people would very soon learn to do without them, as well as they did in so many other countries.

The curate of St. Stephen du Mont, a little parish in Paris, having refused the sacrament to a counsellor of the Châtelet, the parliament threw the curate into prison.

The king, observing these beginnings of a little civil war between his parliament and the clergy, forbade his courts of judicature to concern themselves in matters relating to the sacraments, reserving the cognizance thereof for his privy council. The parliaments complained that this order took from them the exercise of the general police of the kingdom, and the clergy could not with patience suffer that the royal authority should pretend to decide in religious controversies.

Matters began now to grow warm on all sides, when a vacancy occurred in the place of superior to a hospital for young women and immediately the archbishop of Paris pretending that he had the sole right of nomination, the flames of discord began to break out with fury.

The parliament opposed the archbishop's pretensions; and the king having given it in his favor, the parliament desisted from its functions, and refused to administer justice. The king found himself under the necessity of sending his musketeers with *lettres de cachet* to all the members of that court, commanding them to resume their functions, on pain of being punished for disobedience.

Upon this the chambers continued to sit as usual, but when any causes came to be tried, there was no

advocate found to plead. This resembled in some manner the times of the League, but without the horrors of civil war. It was rather a matter of folly and ridicule.

This folly, however, was perplexing. The king determined to extinguish by moderation these sparks which might have lighted up a dangerous flame, and to this end exhorted the clergy not to make use of unwarrantable severities. The parliament likewise resumed all its functions.

But it was not long before the billets of confession made their appearance again, and some fresh refusals of the sacraments set all Paris a-murmuring. The curate of St. Stephen's before mentioned being found guilty of a second prevarication, was summoned before the parliament, who prohibited him and all other curates from giving the like cause of scandal for the future, under pain of forfeiting their temporalities. By the same *arret* the archbishop of Paris was invited to exert his authority in putting an end to this cause of complaint. The term "invited" seemed to agree with the plan of moderation adopted by the king. But the archbishop, not pleased that a secular court of justice should even pretend to the right of inviting him to do anything, went to complain of it in Versailles. He was encouraged in this step by the old bishop of Mirepoix, named Boyer, who was appointed by the ministry to present to the king proper persons for having church livings. This man had formerly been

a Theatin, was afterward made a bishop, and then became a minister; he was a person of very narrow conceptions, but a zealous stickler for the rights of the clergy. He looked on the bull as an article of faith, and making use of all the influence which his place gave him, he persuaded the court that the parliament had made an attack upon the privileges of the Church; upon which the arret was annulled. On this occasion that body made some strong and pathetic remonstrances.

The king very prudently ordered them to confine themselves to giving him an account of all the information they should receive on these subjects, reserving to himself the right of punishing those priests whose offensive zeal might sow the seeds of schism among his subjects. He likewise forbade, by an arret of his council of state, anyone to give another the name of Innovator, Jansenist, or Semipelagian. This was ordering madmen to be wise.

The curates of Paris, at the instigation of the archbishop, presented a petition to the king in favor of the billets of confession. Immediately upon this, the parliament suspended the curate of St. Jean en Grève, who had drawn up the petition. The king again annulled their proceedings, and the parliament again desisted from its functions, and persisted in the remonstrances; the king on his side continued to exhort both parties to peace. But it was all labor in vain.

The parliament ordered a letter of the bishop of

Marseilles, which had been laid before them, to be burned by the hands of the common executioner, and condemned a book written by the bishop of Amiens. The assembly of the clergy, who sat at that time in Paris, as they do every five years, to pay their subsidies to the king, resolved to wait on him with their complaints, dressed in their canonicals; but the king would not permit this extraordinary ceremony.

The parliament, on the other hand, condemned one of the porters who carry the host, to make the *amende*, to ask pardon on his knees, and to receive a reprimand; and a vicar of a parish to be banished. The king annulled this arret also.

Such proceedings daily became more common; the king still recommended peace, the bishops still continued to refuse the sacraments, and the parliament to condemn their proceedings.

At length, the king gave the parliament permission to give sentence in the affair of the sacraments, in case any cause of that kind should be brought before it; but he, at the same time, forbade it to seek out for such causes. The parliament then resumed its functions a second time, and the several parties, whose lawsuits had been neglected for these affairs, were again at liberty to ruin themselves as usual.

Nevertheless, the flame was not so entirely quenched but that it continued to smother in private. The archbishop had given orders to refuse the

sacraments to a couple of poor old nuns of St. Agatha, who having formerly heard their confessor say that the Bull *Unigenitus* was the work of the devil, were afraid of being damned if they subscribed to this bull on their deathbeds, and were also afraid of being damned if they should die without receiving extreme unction. The parliament thereupon sent their register to the archbishop to desire him not to refuse these two women the usual comforts. The archbishop answered in his usual manner, that he was accountable for his conduct to God only; in consequence of which answer the parliament seized on his temporalities, and invited the princes of the blood and the peers to come and take their seats in the house.

The dispute now had the appearance of becoming serious, and people began to fear a renewal of the times of the League. The king forbade the princes and peers to go and vote in the Parliament of Paris on matters which he had reserved for the cognizance of his privy council. The archbishop had also influence enough to get the little community of St. Agatha dissolved for entertaining so bad an opinion of the Bull *Unigenitus*.

All Paris murmured at these proceedings, which affected the peace of several other parts of the kingdom, in particular the city of Orleans, which was in confusion on account of the refusal of the sacraments: the parliament gave the same decrees in regard to that city as to Paris, and schism was

advancing with rapid strides. One Sunday, in the middle of his sermon, a curate in the diocese of Amiens resolved to desire all those of his congregation who were Jansenists to leave the church, and said that he should be the first who would wash his hands in their blood. He had even the audacity to mention some of his parishioners by name, who were thereupon pelted with stones by some of the more zealous constitutionists as they came out of church, though it is very certain that neither the one nor the other knew anything at all of what the bull or Jansenism meant.

An outrage of this kind was punishable with death. The Parliament of Paris, in whose jurisdiction Amiens is, contented itself with sentencing the factious and bloodthirsty priest to perpetual banishment; and the king approved of the sentence, as it did not relate to a crime merely spiritual, but to the illegal act of a seditious and turbulent person, and a disturber of the public peace.

During these commotions Louis XV. acted like a father who endeavors to part his children when fighting with one another. He forbade all manner of insult or abuse; he reprimanded some, and exhorted others; he enjoined silence, forbade the parliament from passing sentence on spiritual matters, and recommended the bishops to use circumspection in regard to the bull, which he looked on as a law of the Church, but he would not have this dangerous law made the subject of contest. But

all this paternal care proved of little effect on minds heated with opposition and fears. The parliaments pretended that they could not separate the spiritual from the civil, seeing that spiritual disputes necessarily introduced with them disputes of state.

It summoned the bishop of Orleans to appear for having refused the sacraments. It ordered all the books and papers which had disputed its jurisdiction to be burned by the hands of the hangman, excepting only the king's declaration. It sent some of its counsellors to have its decrees registered at the Sorbonne, and concluded with desisting a third time from the exercise of its functions, of trying causes between individuals, in order to give its attention wholly to the affair of the sacraments.

The king, on his side, sent a third time his *lettre de jussion*, commanding them to proceed to the exercise of their duty, and no longer to make his subjects suffer in their private concerns for these general disputes; observing, that the lawsuits of individuals had nothing to do with the Bull *Unigenitus*.

The parliament returned for answer, that they could not acknowledge the king's letters-patent, without violating the oath they had taken; neither could they *obtemperate*. When they came to inquire at Versailles into the meaning of this word, it was, to the surprise of everyone, found to mean, obey.

The king then was obliged to order all the members of the court of inquests into banishment; some

were sent to Bourges, others to Poitiers, and others to Auvergne; and three of the most violent were imprisoned.

The great chamber was spared, but its members thought their honor required them to refuse this indulgence; and therefore persisted in not hearing causes, and continued their proceedings against the curates. The king banished them to Pontoise, a village about six leagues from Paris, whither the duke of Orleans had before sent them during his regency.

The Parliament of Normandy followed the example of that of Paris, in relation to the sacraments. It summoned the bishop of Evreux to appear and to desist from his functions. The king sent an officer of his guards to cancel the registers of this parliament, which at length became more tractable than that of Paris.

The stop put to distributive justice in the capital would have been productive of great happiness to mankind had they been either wise or just; but as they are neither, and as there is a necessity for law, the king commissioned certain members of his council of state to sit and terminate the several causes depending *en dernier ressort*; the court endeavored to get the creation of this new chamber registered in the Châtelet, as if the authority of an inferior court of justice was necessary to establish that of the sovereign. This custom of registering had always had its inconveniences; but the omis-

sion of this ceremony would have been attended with others still greater. The Châtelet refused to register till forced to it by *lettres de jussion*. The Royal Chamber then began to sit; but the advocates would not plead, and this court was the jest of all Paris, and indeed, of itself, agreeably to the known disposition of the French, who laugh one day at what filled them with dread the day before. The clergy, likewise, joined in the laugh, but it was for having won the victory.

Boyer, the old bishop of Mirepoix, who, without knowing it, had been the original cause of these disturbances, being now grown childish and worn out with age, everything seemed to promise fair for a reconciliation. The ministry entered into an amicable discussion of matters with the parliament; that body was recalled, to the general satisfaction of the whole city, who received them at their return with all possible demonstrations of joy; the populace shouting as they passed, "*Vive le Parlement*;" so that they returned in perfect triumph. The king, wearied with the obstinate inflexibility of the clergy and of the parliament, enjoined peace and silence, and permitted the secular judges to proceed against all such as should be found troubling the public peace.

Notwithstanding these salutary precautions, the spirit of schism broke out from time to time in Paris and the provinces; and several bishops, in spite of the king's orders in regard to the sacraments,

strove to win favor with the court of Rome by refusing them. The bishop of Nantes, in particular, having set this example of disobedience and offensive rigor in his city, was, by the court of Nantes, condemned in a fine of six thousand francs, which he was obliged to pay; nor did the king interfere, being heartily tired of these disputes.

Numberless scenes of this kind happened throughout the kingdom, which, though they might be melancholy for those interested in them, were, in general, matters of amusement to the idle multitude. At Orleans, an old Jansenist canon, being on his deathbed, his brethren refused to give him the sacraments, for which the Parliament of Paris fined them twelve thousand livres; and ordered that the sacrament should be given to the sick man. In consequence of this order the officer of the court disposed everything for this ceremony, as if it had been for an execution; in the meantime the canons managed matters so well that their brother died without having the sacrament, and they buried him as privately as possible.

Nothing was more common at this time than receiving the sacrament by act of parliament. The king, who had banished the judges for refusing to *obtemperate*, was willing to hold the balance even, by banishing, in their turns, the clergy, for persisting in their schism. He accordingly began with the archbishop of Paris, whom he ordered to retire to his house at Constans, three leagues from the

city; a very candid sentence, that had more the air of a fatherly admonition than a punishment.

The bishops of Orleans and of Troyes were, by a similar mild sentence, banished to their country-houses. The archbishop of Paris, being found as inflexible in his country-house as in his episcopal residence, was banished to a greater distance from the capital.

The parliament, which now found itself at liberty to act, reprimanded the Sorbonne, which, though it formerly held the bull in detestation, now looked upon it as an article of faith. The latter threatened to cease giving lessons; and the parliament, which had itself desisted from more important functions, ordered the faculty to continue theirs; in so doing it maintained the rights of the Gallican Church. The king approved of this proceeding, but when it would go further, he put a stop to it; and while he confirmed such of its decrees as tended to the public good, he annulled others in which he thought he saw want of proper circumspection.

Thus was this monarch continually in the midst of two powerful and incensed parties, like the Roman emperors between the white and green factions: his attention was also engaged by the hostilities which the English had begun against him at sea; and a land war seemed unavoidable. This was therefore no time to dispute about bulls.

He was also obliged to quiet the contests between

the great council and his parliaments; for as there are few or no positive laws in France to determine any particular point, as the privileges of the several orders are unsettled, the clergy have always endeavored to extend their jurisdiction. As the Chambers of Accounts had disputed many of the privileges of the parliaments, and the peers had frequently pleaded theirs against the Parliament of Paris, it is not to be wondered that the great council should have disputes with that body also.

This great council was originally the council of the kings of France, and accompanied them wherever they went; but, as everything has changed by degrees in the public administration, the great council underwent a change also. In the reign of Charles VIII. it was only a court of judicature; it now determines concerning appeals, the qualifications of judges, and all causes relating to benefices within the kingdom, excepting those of the *régale*. It has also the privilege of judging its own officers.

A counsellor of this court having been brought before the *Châtelet* for an affair of debt, the great council called the cause before them, and annulled the sentence of the *Châtelet*. Upon this the parliament took the alarm, and annulled the decree of the great council, and the king set aside the *arret* of the parliament. This occasioned such remonstrances and disputes that all the parliaments attacked the great council, and the public took different sides. The Parliament of Paris again invited

the peers to be present at this dispute between the two bodies; and the king again forbade them to associate. This affair remains, like many others, undecided.

The king, in the meantime, was occupied with matters of greater importance. He had a burdensome war to carry on against the English, both by sea and land. At the same time he laid that memorable foundation of a military school, which forms the noblest monument of his reign; and which the empress-queen has since imitated. He wanted supplies to carry on all those operations, and the parliament was very backward in registering the edicts for levying two *vingtièmes*, though they have since been obliged to grant three; for in time of war the subjects must either fight or pay those who do — there is no alternative.

The king held a bed of justice at Versailles, to which he summoned the princes of the blood, and the peers, together with the Parliament of Paris, and here he caused his edicts to be registered; but, as soon as the parliament returned to Paris, it protested against this registration, pretending that not only had it not been permitted the necessary liberty of inquiry, but also that this edict required such modifications as might not be injurious to the interests of the king nor those of the state, which were one and the same, and which by its oath it was bound to defend; adding, furthermore, that its

duty was not to please, but to serve. Thus zeal was at variance with obedience.

The old leaven of schism was mixed with this important affair of the taxes. A counsellor of the parliament being taken ill at his country seat, in the diocese of Meaux, desired to have the sacraments administered to him ; but he was refused by a curate as being an enemy to the Church, and he died without having this ceremony performed. Upon this the curate was proceeded against, but he made his escape.

The archbishop of Aix had made a new formulary on the bull, for which the Parliament of Aix sentenced him to pay a fine of ten thousand livres to the poor, which he was obliged to pay, and so got clear, with the loss of his formulary and his money. The bishop of Troyes having raised some disturbances in his diocese, the king sent him into confinement among the monks of Alsace. The archbishop of Paris, who had been permitted to return to his house at Constans, declared all persons excommunicated who should read the arrets and remonstrances of the parliaments concerning the bull and billets of confession.

Louis XV., whom these variances greatly perplexed, carried his circumspection so far as to ask advice of Pope Benedict XIV. (Lambertini), a person of as moderate disposition as himself, beloved by all Christendom for his mild and pleasing carriage, and whose loss we at present more and more

regret. He never interfered in any affair but with a view to peace. His secretary of the briefs, Cardinal Passionei, managed everything. The cardinal, who was the only one in the sacred college at that time who was a man of letters, had too exalted an understanding not to despise all these disputes. He hated the Jesuits for having drawn up this bull, and could not keep himself from blaming the ill-advised conduct of the court of Rome, in condemning by this bull, maxims in themselves virtuous, unalterably true, and suitable to all times, and every nation; such, for instance, as the following: "The fear of excommunication ought not to prevent anyone from acting agreeably to his duty"—a maxim that is the support and defence of virtue throughout the world. Both ancients and moderns have always agreed that our duty should prevail over the fear of punishment.

But strange as this bull might appear in more than one article, neither Cardinal Passionei nor the pope could repeal a constitution which was looked upon as a law of the Church. Benedict XIV., therefore, sent the king a circular letter for all the bishops of France, in which he does, indeed, consider this bull as a universal law, which is not to be opposed "without endangering our eternal happiness;" but then he concludes with this decision, that, "in order to avoid scandal, the priest should inform some dying persons who are suspected of being Jansenists that they will be damned, and then

administer the sacrament to them at their own risk and peril."

The same pontiff, in his private letter to the king, recommended the episcopal rights to his protection. Whoever consults a pope in any age must expect that he will answer as a pope should do.

But Benedict XIV., while he observed everything that was due to his station, was not wanting in what he owed to peace, good order, and the authority of the prince. The pope's brief to the bishops was printed, when the parliament had the courage, or, if you will, the temerity to publish an arret, condemning it, and ordering it to be suppressed. This step was the more offensive to the king, as he himself had sent this brief to the bishops, in which there was nothing that concerned either the liberties of the Gallican Church, or the rights of the sovereign, of which the parliament have, in all times, been the protectors and avengers; so that the present censure passed by that body seemed to savor more of ill humor than moderation.

The council now thought it had found a new reason to condemn the conduct of the Parliament of Paris; several other superior courts, who have the names of parliaments, were called "Classes of the Parliament of the Kingdom," a title which had been given them by the chancellor de L'Hôpital, and which signified no more than the union of the several parliaments in the knowledge and maintenance of the laws. The parliament did not pretend to rep-

resent the whole state, as divided into different companies, which, altogether, making one body, constituted the states-general of the kingdom; this would indeed have been a grand idea, but it would have been too much so, and might have proved offensive to the royal authority.

These considerations, joined to the difficulties made in regard to registering the money-edicts, determined the king to hold a bed of justice, and there make an alteration in the Parliament of Paris.

However private the ministry kept this design, it got abroad, and when the king came to Paris, he was received with a mournful silence. The common people consider the parliament merely as the imposer of taxes, without ever examining whether these taxes are necessary, or once reflecting that the several commodities in which they deal sell at a higher price in proportion to those taxes, and that the burdens at length fall on the rich. These latter again complain in their turn, and, by their murmurings, encourage those of the populace.

The English have been more burdened than the French in this war; but in England the nation taxes itself, and knows what fund is established for the payment of the sums raised. On the contrary, the French are taxed without ever knowing for what the funds destined for such payment are to be assigned. In England there are no private persons who contract with the government for furnishing the sums to be raised by the taxes, and who enrich

themselves at the expense of the nation, which is the case in France. The French parliaments have made repeated remonstrances to their kings against this abuse; but there are certain times in which those remonstrances, and the difficulties about registering, are more dangerous than even the taxes, because the exigencies of war demand instant supplies; whereas amending the abuse of these supplies requires time.

The king then came to the parliament, and caused an edict to be read, by which he suppressed two chambers of that body, and several officers. He ordered due respect to be paid to the Bull *Unigenitus*, forbade the secular judges to prescribe the administering of the sacraments, leaving them at liberty only to take cognizance of the abuses or crimes committed under such administration. He enjoined the curates to observe moderation and discretion, and desired that all past disputes might be buried in oblivion.

He ordered that no counsellor should be admitted to consultation under the age of twenty-five, and that no person should be entitled to vote in the assembly of the chambers, till he had served ten years; and he concluded by laying the most strict injunctions that no one should, on any pretext whatsoever, interrupt the customary business of the court.

The chancellor, for form's sake, demanded the opinions of the members, but everyone kept pro-

found silence. The king said he would be obeyed, and that he would severely punish anyone who should depart from his duty.

The next day, fifteen counsellors of the great chamber resigned their office in court: a hundred and twenty members of the parliament followed their example soon afterward. Upon this, there was a universal murmuring throughout the city; but these commotions were soon swallowed up in a general consternation, occasioned by an unexpected and shocking accident. The king was stabbed on January 5, in his own court, at Versailles, in presence of his son, and surrounded by his guards and all the great officers of the crown. This extraordinary affair happened thus:

A wretch of the dregs of the people, named Robert Francis Damiens, born in a little village, in the neighborhood of Arras, had lived for some time as a servant in several houses in Paris: this man was of a passionate and gloomy disposition, approaching to madness.

The general murmurings which he had heard in public places, and in the great hall of the parliament-house, had heated his indignation. He set out for Versailles, like a man who knew not whither he was going, and in the agitation of mind which must necessarily have attended the horrible design he had conceived, he desired, while at the public house where he lodged, that a surgeon might be sent for to bleed him. Physical prepossessions have so great

an influence on the human mind, that **this man said**, on his examination, that had he been bled when he desired it, he was convinced he should not have committed this horrible crime.

The design he had formed was the most extraordinary that had ever entered into the head of any monster of this kind. He had no intention of killing the king, as he himself absolutely declared after he was apprehended — and which indeed he had but too fair an opportunity to do — but only designed to wound him, as appears by the following declaration, which he made before the parliament, at the time of his trial :

“ I had no intention to kill the king, which I might have done, had I been so inclined. I only did it, that God might touch the king’s heart, and work on him, to restore things to their former footing, and give peace to his kingdom. The archbishop of Paris is the sole cause of all these troubles.”

This notion had got such a thorough possession of his mind that, in another of his answers, he says :

“ I mentioned the names of some counsellors of the parliament, because I was formerly servant to one ; and they are almost all to a man furiously incensed against the archbishop.”

In short, this unhappy wretch was so lost in fanaticism that, in the examination he underwent at Versailles, we find the following passage :

Being interrogated what motives had induced him

to make an attempt upon the person of his sovereign, he replied, "It was for religion's sake."

All those who have attempted the lives of Christian princes have made use of this pretext. The king of Portugal had not been assaulted, but for the decision of three Jesuits. It is sufficiently known that Henry III. and IV. of France fell by the hands of fanatics; but there was this difference between them and Louis XV.: they were murdered because they appeared to be enemies to the pope, and he was stabbed for having seemed desirous to oblige the pope.

The assassin had provided himself with a clasp-knife, one side of which had a long sharp-pointed blade, and the other was to cut pens with, and was about four inches long. He waited for the king to get into his coach to go to Trianon. It was nearly six o'clock in the evening, the daylight was dying, the weather was excessively cold, so that almost all the court were wrapped up in large cloaks, called redingotes. The villain, who wore one of those, pushed through the guards, brushed the dauphin as he passed by him, got in between the bodyguard and the king, stabbed him with his penknife under the fifth rib, returned his knife to his pocket, and remained in his place with his hat on his head. The king, finding himself wounded, turned his head, and seeing a strange man standing close by him, with his hat on, and his eyes staring wildly, cried out: "That

is the person who has wounded me, secure him; but let no one do him any hurt."

While everybody was in amazement and horror, and they were carrying the king to his bed, and sending for the surgeons to examine if the wound was mortal, or the weapon had been poisoned, the assassin cried out several times: "Look to the dauphin! do not suffer him to stir abroad all day."

Upon this, the general terror was redoubled; no one doubted that there was a plot formed to cut off the royal family, and that the most bloody and premeditated horrors were about to ensue.

Happily the king's wound was but slight; but the apprehensions of the public were far from being so; and the whole court was filled with fear, distrust, and intrigues. The grand provost of the household, who, by his office, is to take cognizance of all crimes committed within the king's palace, immediately took the murderer into custody, and proceeded to bring him to trial, in the same manner as had been observed in the case of the murderer of Henry III., at St. Cloud. An exempt of the provost's guard, having, in appearance or reality, gained some kind of confidence over the disordered mind of this miscreant, persuaded him to write a letter to his majesty from his prison.¹ The letter was as follows:

Sire: I am extremely sorry that I have been so unfortunate as to approach your sacred person; but if you do not

¹ On the back of this letter was written, in a flourish, "*ne varietur*," by, and according to, the desire of the exam-

take the part of your people, before many years are passed, both you and the dauphin and some others, will come to an untimely end. It would be a pity that so good a prince should be in danger of his life, on account of the too great indulgence he shows to the clergy, in whom alone he seems to put all his confidence; and if you are not so good as to alter this in a short time, very fatal consequences will follow, your kingdom not being safe, because, unfortunately for you, your subjects have given you their dismission; this affair coming altogether from them. And if you have

ination of the aforesaid Francis Damiens, dated this 9th of January, one thousand seven hundred fifty and seven, at Versailles, the king being there.

Signed DAMIENS.

Le Clerc, du Brillet, and du Voigne, with a flourish.

A little lower was written:

"To the king."

Here follows the tenor of a writing, signed "DAMIENS."

Copy of the note.

MESSIEURS

Chagrange; Seconde.

Baisse de Lisse.

De la Guiomye.

Clement.

Lambert.

The President de Rieux Bonnainvillers.

The President de Mazi, and almost all.

He must reinstate his parliament, and protect it, with a promise not to do anything to the underwritten and company.

Signed DAMIENS.

Lower again was written;

In a flourish, "*ne varietur*," by, and according to the desire of the examination, this ninth January, one thousand seven hundred fifty and seven.

Signed DAMIENS.

Le Clerc, du Brillet, and du Voigne, with a flourish.

The said letter, as well as the said writing, annexed to the minute of the examination.

not the goodness for your people to order that the sacraments be administered to them when they are dying, which comfort you have refused them since holding your bed of justice, and the Châtelet having sold the goods of the priest who made his escape; I repeat to you, that your life is in danger, on the information (which is very true) that I take the liberty of acquainting you with, by the officer who brings this letter, in whom I have placed all my confidence.

The archbishop of Paris is the cause of all the disturbance about the sacraments, by having refused them. After the cruel crime I have lately committed against your sacred person, the sincere confession I now take the liberty of making will, I hope, entitle me to your majesty's goodness and clemency.

Signed DAMIENS.

The letter is that of a madman, and is written in a style agreeable to his abject condition; but it discloses the real cause of his madness; it is evident that the complaints of the parliament and of the public against the archbishop had turned the brain of the criminal, and had stirred him up to this attempt. It appeared, by the names of the members of parliament, mentioned in his letter, that he knew them, but not that they had ever made him acquainted with their sentiments; much less that they had ever spoken a word, that could have encouraged him to the commission of this crime.

Accordingly, the king made no scruple to put the examination of the prisoner into the hands of those members of the great chamber who had not resigned. He would even have the princes and peers be present at this trial, in order to render it

more solemn and authentic in the eyes of the prying and distrustful multitude, who always see more than the truth in these shocking events. But, indeed, truth never appeared more manifest. It is evident that this madman had no accomplice; he constantly declared that he did not design to kill the king, but that he had formed the design of making an attempt on his person, ever since the banishment of the parliament.

While undergoing the torture, he declared, that he imagined he was doing a meritorious act in the sight of God; and I have heard all the priests about the court of justice say the same.

He persisted to the last, in saying, that it was the archbishop of Paris, the refusal of the sacraments, and the banishing of the parliament, that had induced him to make this attempt; he declared the same to his confessor, and died with the same sentiments, in such tortures as had been inflicted on Ravailiac.

His father, his wife, and his daughter, though innocent, were banished from the kingdom, on pain of being hanged, if they ever came back; and by the same arret, all his relatives were obliged to lay aside the name of Damiens, now become execrable.

This accident made an impression on the minds of those, who, by their ill-timed disputes about religion, had been the cause of this atrocious crime. They saw but too plainly the direful effects of the spirit of dogmatizing and enthusiastic fury. No one

could have imagined that a bull and billets of confession would have had such fatal consequences; but we generally find the follies and the wickedness of mankind thus connected with each other; and the spirit of Poltrot and James Clément, which was thought long ago extinct, still exists. Reason in vain makes its way to the minds of the better part of the nation; the populace will always be the dupes of fanaticism, and perhaps there is no other remedy against this contagion than enlightening the minds of that populace; whereas, they are generally trained up in ignorance and superstition, and afterward we are amazed to see the effects which such an education produces.

During these transactions, sixteen counsellors, who had resigned their seats, were sent into banishment; and one of them, who was a clerk, founded a perpetual mass of thanksgiving to God, for having saved the life of the monarch who had banished him.

Several officers of the Parliament of Besançon were also confined in different towns, for having not only refused to register the edict for raising a second *vingtième*, but having also issued a writ to seize the person of the intendant of the province.

The king, notwithstanding the attempt made on his life, and the destructive war he had to support, applied himself strenuously to the task of ending the disputes between the parliaments and the clergy, endeavoring to confine each order within its respective bounds. He again banished the archbishop of

Paris for having disobeyed his injunctions, only in the election of the superior of a convent, and afterward recalled him, thus rendering his authority more respected by his moderation. At length these heats subsided of themselves, and those members of the Parliament of Paris who had resigned their seats returned to them again, and resumed their functions. Everything now wore the appearance of tranquillity in the interior part of the kingdom, till a mistaken zeal and a spirit of party gave birth to new troubles.

PLOT AGAINST THE KING OF PORTUGAL.

A religious order is not a subject for history. No one of the historians of antiquity has entered into a detail of the institutions of the priests of Cybele, or Juno; unhappily for our European policy, the monks, whose very institution seems to seclude them from the notice of the world, have made as much noise in it as the greatest princes, as much on account of their immense riches as through the commotions and troubles they have continually raised since their foundation.

The Jesuits, as we have already shown, were absolute lords in Paraguay, though they acknowledged the king of Spain as their sovereign. The court of Madrid having by a treaty of exchange ceded certain districts in that country to Joseph of Braganza, king of Portugal, the Jesuits were accused

of having opposed this cession, and having stirred up to revolt those villages that were to pass under the dominion of the Portuguese. This complaint, joined to many others, caused the Jesuits to be banished from the court of Lisbon.

Some little time afterward, the family of Tavora, and in particular, the duke d'Aveiro, uncle of the young countess Ataïda d'Atouguia; the old marquis and marchioness of Tavora, her father and mother; her husband, the count of Ataïda; and one of the brothers of this unfortunate lady, having, as they thought, received an irreparable affront from the king, resolved to be revenged. Revenge and superstition, for the most part, act in concert with each other. Those of our communions, who meditate the commission of any great crime, generally seek for casuists and confessors to quiet their scruples. The family who thought itself injured applied to three Jesuits, named Malagrida, Alexander, and Mathos, who gave it as their opinion that killing the king was no more than a venial sin.

The better to understand this opinion, you are to know that casuists make a distinction between sins for which a man goes immediately to hell, and those for which he goes only into purgatory for a certain time; between those for which a priest can give absolution, on saying certain prayers, or paying a sum of money in alms, and those which may be absolved without making satisfaction; the first of these are called mortal, the second venial, sins.

Auricular confession gave rise to regicide in Portugal, as it had before done in many other countries. Such is the deplorable state of human nature — as we have too often had occasion to show in the course of this history — that an institution, which was in its origin intended as an expiation for crimes, has been made use of to encourage the commission of them.

The conspirators being provided with their pardons for the next world, lay in wait for the king as he was returning from one of his country seats alone, without any guards, and in the night-time, when they fired on his coach, and wounded him desperately.

All the accomplices in this horrid affair were taken, except one domestic. Some of them were broken alive on the wheel, and the others beheaded. The young countess of Ataïda, whose husband had been executed among the rest, was, by the king's order, confined in a monastery for life, there to lament, in a sorrowful retirement, the fatal ills of which she was supposed to have been the cause.

Portugal not having as yet received the same lights as most of the other European nations, paid a more implicit submission to the authority of the see of Rome than any of them, insomuch that the king could not give his judges authority to pass sentence of death on a priest who had attempted the life of his sovereign, without first sending to the pope for his consent. Thus, while other nations lived in the enlightened times of the eighteenth cen-

ture, Portugal seemed to be buried in all the darkness of the twelfth.

Posterity will hardly believe that the king of Portugal was two whole years soliciting the permission of the see of Rome to try Jesuits who were his own subjects, without being able to obtain it at last.

The courts of Lisbon and of Rome were at open variance for a considerable time, insomuch that there was room to believe that Portugal would at length throw off that yoke which the English, its protectors and allies, had long since trampled under their feet; but the Portuguese ministry had too many enemies to venture on an undertaking that the others had accomplished; and therefore gave at one and the same time a proof of the greatest resolution and most extreme condescension.

Those of the Jesuits who were deemed most culpable were in prison at Lisbon, where the king suffered them to remain, and sent all the rest of that order to Rome, banishing them from the kingdom forever, but he did not dare to put to death the three who had been accused and convicted of having a hand in the plot against his life.

He had therefore no other expedient but that of delivering one of them, Malagrida, over to the Inquisition, as a person suspected of having formerly advanced certain rash propositions, bordering on heresy.

The Dominicans, who are the judges of the holy

office, and assistants to the Grand Inquisitor, never loved the Jesuits; and therefore they were more ready to serve the king than the court of Rome had been. On this occasion, they brought to light a little book, entitled, "The Heroic Life of St. Anne, the Mother of Mary, Dictated to the Reverend-Father Malagrida, by St. Anne herself"; in which that saint tells him that she was born without sin, as well as her daughter; that she had wept and had spoken in her mother's womb, and that she had made the cherubim weep. All the writings of Malagrida were equally sensible; he had made predictions, and performed miracles, and that of being troubled with nocturnal pollutions in his prison at the age of seventy-five, was none of the least.

All these things were brought against him at his trial, and he was condemned to the flames for these only, without being asked a single question concerning the attempt against the king's life, because this is only a crime committed against a layman; whereas, the others were crimes against God. Thus folly and absurdity were joined to the most horrible wickedness. An assassin was tried only for being a prophet, and was condemned to be burned only as a madman, and not as an assassin.

This affair of the Jesuits in Portugal, and their expulsion from that kingdom, revived the old hatred against them in France, where they have always been powerful, and always detested. It happened that one La Vallette, a professed monk of their

order, who was chief of the missions at Gaudeloupe, and one of the greatest traders in all the French islands, failed for over three millions. The creditors applied for redress to the Parliament of Paris. On inquiry, there appeared some reason to believe that the general of the Jesuits, residing at Rome, managed the effects of the society as he pleased; on which, the Parliament of Paris condemned the general and the rest of the order to pay all the debts of La Vallette, with costs and charges.

This trial, which incensed the whole kingdom against the Jesuits, brought on an inquiry into the very extraordinary institution which could render an Italian, the general of an order, absolute master of the persons and fortunes of a company of French traders. In the course of this scrutiny it appeared to the surprise of everyone, that the Jesuits had never been formally admitted into France by any of the parliaments of the kingdom; the constitutions of the order were next subjected to examination, and all the parliaments agreed that they were incompatible with the laws. All the old grievances and former complaints against this society were revived on this occasion, together with more than fifty volumes of theological decisions, which seemed to render the lives of crowned heads unsafe.

Against all these accusations the Jesuits made no other defence than that the Jacobins and St. Thomas had written in the same manner; but this only proved the Jacobins to be as blamable as them-

selves; as to St. Thomas d'Aquinas, he has been made a saint of; but there are some decisions in his "Ultramontane Summary," for which the parliaments of France would order his book to be burned on his very festival, were any one to attempt to put them in practice, to the disturbance of the government's tranquillity. Such is the following assertion, which occurs in many places in his book: that the Church has a right to depose a prince who is unfaithful to the Church; and that in this case, regicide is lawful. With such maxims as these, a man may have the chance of obtaining heaven and a halter.

The king condescended to interest himself in this affair of the Jesuits, and endeavored, as he had done in all the other disputes, to terminate them peaceably. With this paternal view, he would, by an edict, have made a reformation in the order; but it is said that Pope Clement XIII., having declared that the order must either remain as it was, or not exist at all, this speech proved the ruin of the Jesuits. And being moreover accused of holding private meetings, the king gave them over to the parliaments of the kingdom, who, almost all, one after another, have taken from them their colleges and their effects.

The parliaments condemned them wholly on account of certain rules of their institution, which the king might have altered by his authority, and also indeed for certain horrible maxims, most of

which had been published by Jesuits of other countries, but formerly disavowed by those of France.

In all great affairs there is ever a pretext set forth to the view of the world, and a real cause, which is kept secret. The pretext for punishing the Jesuits was the dangerous tendency of those wicked writings, which nobody read: the cause was the ill use they had made of their great influence and credit. It happened to them in an enlightened and refined age as it had to the Knights Templars in times of barbarism and ignorance; pride was the ruin of both. The Jesuits, however, have met with lenity amidst their disgraces; whereas the Templars were treated with the greatest cruelty.

It was neither the maxims of Sanchez, Lessius, nor Escobar, nor yet the absurd doctrines of the casuists, that proved the destruction of the Jesuits; it was Father Letellier and the bull that caused the almost total expulsion of this order in France.

The destruction of Port Royal, which Letellier so unweariedly labored for, has at the end of sixty years produced the same effects; and the persecution which that designing and revengeful priest raised against a set of obstinate men has rendered the Jesuits execrable in France: a memorable example, but one which, nevertheless, will not be found sufficient to warn any future confessor of a crowned head, if he be what almost every courtier is — of an arbitrary and intriguing disposition, and has the

direction of a prince of weak intellect, rendered still more feeble by age.

CONCLUDING NOTES ON THE GENERAL HISTORIES.

While France was taken up with these domestic events, the war continued in Europe. The alliance between France and Spain seemed to promise those two crowns the greatest advantages over the English; and the house of Austria, whose hands this alliance had also strengthened, was not without hopes of triumphing over its enemy, the king of Prussia. Formerly it was thought impossible that the houses of Bourbon and Austria could ever be united; and now that they were, it was imagined that they would be more than a match for all Europe, and yet the three petty German provinces of Brandenburg, Hanover, and Hesse, counterbalanced all the united forces of France and Austria.

England, by her navy alone, rendered this union of no effect; and Portugal, which seemed on the point of falling a prey to the Spanish arms, was saved from destruction. Thus, what was thought the least probable came to pass; of this we have had a hundred instances in the course of this extensive history, where we have seen the greatest events turn out directly contrary to the designs or expectations of mankind.

At one time we see an army of one hundred thou-

sand French not able to preserve Cassel from falling into the hands of the enemy; at another, the king of Prussia taking Schweidnitz in Silesia, in spite of the whole Austrian army; and no sooner had Spain declared war against England than the latter took from her the large island of Cuba, with a treasure amounting to more than a hundred millions, at that time in Havana.

France, in a manner exhausted, and having already made proposals of peace to the British court, was obliged once more to renew those proposals; and Spain was constrained to follow her example, and rest content with heavy losses. This war had begun about some contested lands which the English laid claim to in America; and they now remained masters of all the immense country of Canada, and that part of the continent which is east of the Mississippi River.*

To these vast possessions they have added Florida; so that the English and Spaniards have the whole continent of America between them.

This is the most remarkable event of this war, which is the one thousandth that the princes of Christendom have made on each other since the dismembering of the Roman Empire.

Let those historians whose countries have been at war transmit to posterity a detail of the evils suffered, with all the ravages, losses, mistaken measures, and inadequate resources on each side.

As I consider only the manners and spirit of

nations, in this general confusion, I shall remark, that, in the midst of the cruelties inseparable from the hostile exercise of arms, we have had several instances in which a spirit of humanity and politeness has smoothed the rigors of war. The French who were made prisoners by the king of Prussia experienced the mildest treatment from that monarch and Prince Henry, his brother; and the two princes of Brunswick have distinguished themselves as much by their generosity as their victories. The princes, generals, and other officers among the French have given shining proofs of that true nobility which forms their character.

The English made a collection for the support of the seamen they had taken prisoners; and this generous act proceeded from no other principle than that of a humane philosophy, which began to gain ground in most nations, and which will in all probability at length put a stop to religious wars at least, if it cannot prevent those that are the effects of an unhappy state policy.

It is to this humane spirit that we owe the increase of academies in several kingdoms and republics, that have enlarged the human understanding by increasing its knowledge; and this same spirit, which easily communicates itself, has induced many learned men to apply themselves to agriculture, in order to render the earth fruitful, while others of an ambitious turn were bathing it in blood. In a word, there is the greatest room to hope that reason

and industry will continually make new advances; that the useful arts will multiply; that false prejudices, which are in the number of the greatest evils that attend mankind, will every day diminish among the princes and great men of the earth; and that sound philosophy, being universally diffused, will prove a ready consolation against the calamities incident in all times to human nature.

In this view, and with these hopes, this *ESSAY ON GENERAL HISTORY* is offered to the public. Humanity dictated it, and Truth held the pen. There are some persons who are to be looked upon only as the enemies of society, who have accused the painter of this complicated piece with having thrown too deep a shade on the crimes of mankind, particularly those of religion, and thereby rendered enthusiasm hateful, and superstition ridiculous.

The only reproach the author has to make himself on this head is, that he has not said enough; and the very charge of these enthusiastic bigots shows the necessity there was for such a history, since it proves that there are still some unhappy wretches troubled with this malady of the soul, who are afraid of being cured.

There will always be some uncivilized minds, even in the most polished nations and enlightened times. One of these has lately made his appearance in a work — published by authority, too — in which he defends the story of the nuns of Loudun, who were possessed with an evil spirit; and another madman

like himself has pretended to prove, in another book, that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was not a designed fact, palliates all the horrors perpetrated that day, commends the cruelties practised toward the Albigenses, and applauds the sentence passed on John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, as just; but this excess of folly may serve as a proof of what has been advanced in former parts of this history, namely, that reason and sound judgment have been greatly improved of late years among the thinking part of mankind, since these writers, who a century ago would have been esteemed as persons of exemplary zeal and piety, are now looked on with contempt and detestation.

It is impossible, in so extensive a history, for some errors not to have crept in, and perchance the author has been sometimes mistaken in dates, or may have altered names, and even circumstances; but he ventures to assert that all the principal facts are true. He has dwelt chiefly on great events; and when he takes notice of lesser ones, it is because they marked the characters he was about to draw.

There are several points in history that have been contested, especially in the Middle Ages: in this case he thought he could not do better than to adopt that side which appeared most agreeable to reason.

For instance: Eginhard, the secretary of Charlemagne, tells us that Pepin made a donation of the exarchate to St. Peter; but we find Charlemagne, by his will, bequeathing presents to his cities of

Rome and Ravenna; then if Rome and Ravenna were really his cities, they could not be under the dominion of the pope. Therefore, by the words, "made a donation to St. Peter," we are to understand only a religious ceremony, or pious oblation, which could not confer any right, since Pepin had none himself, to the exarchate; for should any one pretend to say: "This is mine, and I hold it from such a person, to whom it did not belong;" such a plea would not hold good either before God or man. After all, this is a very idle dispute; for it is not on this donation, the original title of which never appeared, that the popes found their claim to the sovereignty of Rome and Ravenna, but on the concession of Rudolph of Hapsburg, which is preserved and shown at Rome, and which is by far the most advantageous title.

A writer, equally ignorant and evil-minded, pretends to assert that the kings Clotharius, Gontran, Cherebert, Sigebert, and Chilperic, had never any more than one wife at a time. Is it possible he could be ignorant that Clotharius I. married two sisters, Rugonda and Aregonda, as also Gonduca, his sister-in-law, and three other wives besides her; and that he had almost always three at once, which was not at that time a custom with the kings of France? Is there anyone ever so little conversant with history who does not know that, when his son Chilperic married a sister of Queen Brunehaut, his ambassadors were obliged to swear, in their

master's name, that he would not marry any more during his wife's lifetime, which sufficiently shows that Chilperic had not then laid aside the practice of polygamy. Caribert gave three wicked rivals to Queen Ingoberga, and they all three have the name of wives. Gontran had two at one time, Marcatrude and Austregele: it should seem that he repented of his sin, for he has been ranked in the number of saints. There is not a French annalist who does not admit that Dagobert I. married in the same year three wives, Nantilda, Usfgonda, and Bertilda. This fact is much better attested than the massive throne of gold, which St. Eloy is said to have made for them.

Many things might be added to this ESSAY ON GENERAL HISTORY, but it was necessary to keep within bounds. The judicious and learned reader will make many in his own mind that are not to be met with even here. I shall therefore confine myself to submitting the following conjecture on the ancient Egyptians, which may serve for the history of other ancient nations:

Here we have opened to us a vast field for historical conjecture. We see Egypt a long time kept in subjection by the people of ancient Colchis, inhabitants of those barbarous countries now known by the names of Georgia, Circassia, and Mingrelia. These people must undoubtedly have been much more respectable formerly than they are at present, since we find the first voyage of the Greeks to Col-

this forms one of the minor epochs of Grecian history. It is certain that the customs and manners of the people of Colchis greatly resemble those of the Egyptians, from whose priests they had taken even the practice of circumcision. Herodotus, who had travelled into Egypt and Colchis, and who wrote for Greeks of learning and knowledge, leaves us no room to doubt of this conformity. Though an exact and faithful writer, he is nevertheless charged with having been imposed on in all that he relates after others. The Egyptian priests had persuaded him that King Sesostris formerly left his dominions with the design of conquering the world, and that having taken Colchis in the course of his conquests, the practice of circumcision had been retained in that country ever since.

In the first place, the design of making the conquest of the whole world is a romantic notion that could never have entered into the head of a man in his right senses. To make war first on their neighbors, either to extend their own dominions or for the sake of plunder; after this, to push their conquests further and further, as opportunity or a faint resistance made the way easy to them, has always been the progress of all conquerors.

Secondly, it is not probable that a sovereign of so fertile a country as Egypt would waste his time and pains in conquering the dreary lands of Mount Caucasus, inhabited by a race of hardy men as war-like as they were poor, a hundred of whom were

more than sufficient to check the progress of a whole army of the weak and effeminate Egyptians.

It is nearly the same as if we were to suppose a king of Babylon to have left Mesopotamia in order to make the conquest of Switzerland.

A people bred up in wild and barren countries, where they live wholly by hunting, and who are as savage as the beasts of their inhospitable regions, may quit those regions to go in search of and attack more wealthy nations, but the latter never leave their agreeable and convenient dwellings to make irruptions into uncultivated countries.

The barbarous inhabitants of the north have in all ages made irruptions into the southern countries. You have seen that the people of Colchis held Egypt under subjection for nearly three hundred years, to begin at the reign of St. Louis. You see also, that in every age, Egypt has fallen an easy prey to whosoever chose to make the conquest of it. It is therefore extremely probable that the barbarous nations of Mount Caucasus might have subjected the countries bordering on the Nile, but not very probable that Sesostris ever conquered those about Caucasus. In the third and last place, how comes it that of all the nations whom the Egyptian priests pretended to have been conquered by King Sesostris, the Colchians alone retained the practice of circumcision? It must have passed through Greece and Asia Minor to have come to the country of the Medes. The Greeks, who were great imitators,

would certainly have adopted this ceremony first; and one would imagine that Sesostris himself would have been more attentive to securing his dominion over so fine a country as Greece, and to subjecting it to his laws, than to going to cut off the foreskins of the Colchians. Upon the whole, it is much more agreeable to the common order of things that the Scythians, who inhabited the borders of the Phasis and Araxes, and were always a half-starved and warlike people, made irruptions into Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt; and, after having settled about Thebes and Memphis, in these early ages, as they did afterward in the time of St. Louis, had carried back with them into their own country some part of the religious rites, and the customs of the Egyptians.

It is now for the intelligent reader to weigh these several arguments, ancient history furnishing us only with doubts and conjectures in regard to all the nations under the sun.

In modern history there is more certainty, and the picture of our weaknesses, our errors, and superstitions, is likewise more interesting. It is by this history of our own follies that we are taught wisdom, and not by the dark discussions of a vain antiquity. We have observed, in the course of this essay, that in all those countries where exorcisms began to be laid aside, they no longer heard of witchcrafts nor persons possessed by the devil. It is true they were much scarcer than in other coun-

tries, but it would be doing too much honor to human nature to suppose that the belief of witchcrafts and possessions ceased entirely among the dissenters from the Romish communion.

Such is the weakness of the mind of man, and such the inconsistency of his thoughts, that a considerable time after exorcisms had been abolished among the reformed, they sometimes admitted witchcrafts and possessions by evil spirits. There were some persons burned as sorcerers in Denmark, Sweden, Pomerania, and Holland. You will find a very authentic account of them all, in the "Enchanted World," of Beker, and you will even find more than one Protestant minister who believed, or pretended to believe, in these possessions and witchcrafts, lest, by entirely rejecting them, they should seem also to reject a part of Christianity, which is founded on this belief. "For," said they, "if we allow that the devil inspires us with thoughts, and that these thoughts act on our bodies, why may not the devil have the same power over our bodies, as over our minds?" This way of reasoning might be applied to such as were said to be possessed, but could never be a proof of the power of sorcerers or magicians. But this is not the place for discussing these questions. Suffice it to know that though human reason is freed from this prejudice, it retains several others, and often forms new ones; and that the number of wise men is very small, even in the most enlightened times.

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One of the most horrible abuses of the monastic state, but which falls only on those who, having had the imprudence to enter into that state, have the misfortune to repent of it afterward, is the licence which the superiors of convents assume of exercising the office of civil magistrates within their own precincts, which they carry to such a length as to shut up in a dungeon, for their lives, such of the monks as they dislike, and imagine they have reason to distrust. There have been numberless examples of this ecclesiastical tyranny in Italy and Spain; there have been some also in France. This is called, in the monkish jargon, being "*in pace*" with the bread of tribulation and the water of anguish.

In the "History of the Common Law," which was partly composed by M. d'Argenson, minister for foreign affairs, a man of much more learning and philosophy than was generally imagined; in this history, I say, you will find that the intendant of Tours set at liberty a person who had been thus confined, whom he had with great difficulty found out, after the most diligent search. You see also that M. de Coaler, bishop of Orleans, delivered one of these unhappy monks, who was shut up in a cistern, the mouth of which was covered with a great stone. But what you will not find there is that a severe punishment was inflicted on the superiors for their inhuman insolence in assuming the royal authority and exercising it in so tyrannical a manner.

Historical truth has compelled us to say that

Opas, archbishop of Seville, was, in concert with Count Julian, the first instrument the Moors made use of to subdue the kingdom of Spain. This is such a well-known fact that it would have been just as shameful to pass it over in silence as it is to contradict it. The chronological abridgment of the history of Spain calls Bishop Opas "the wickedest priest, and worst subject in the kingdom."

With regard to Mahomet, it is of little significance whether his father was the tenth or twelfth son of Abdal Moutaleb, or how long he was factor to the widow Khadijah, to whom he was afterward married. Some think that he could neither write nor read, and that this makes his successes the more wonderful. They found this opinion on certain passages of the Koran wherein Mahomet calls himself the ignorant prophet, and insinuates that he cannot write. The sense of that passage seems to be no more than this, that in himself he was ignorant and incapable of reading or writing well, but that the angel Gabriel had exalted him above himself; for it is hardly probable that he, who had been a merchant, and afterward became a lawgiver, a poet and musician, and who, on his deathbed, desired that the proper things might be brought to him to write, should have been ignorant of what was known to every child in Mecca.

As to what relates to Christianity, it is a point of a more delicate nature. The author has never set up to act the divine, but has confined himself

to historical truth, and has narrated facts as he found them, leaving the learned and sensible reader to draw his own inferences. If Calvin absolutely suffered Servetus to perish at the stake, after having declared in his writings that no man should be punished for following the opinion of Servetus, the author was obliged to relate this fact, without fear of displeasing a fanatic or an impostor. He was under the same necessity of portraying the ambition, cruelty, and abandoned lives of several of the pontiffs. They were men, and he wrote the history of mankind; besides, their vices serve as foils to offset the virtues of those of the present age.

In examining this history, we find some letters attributed to Queen Christina. She wrote one to Cardinal Mazarin on the subject of Monaldeschi's murder, in which she thus expresses herself:

“Be it known to you all, servants and masters, that it has pleased us to act in this manner. I would have you know likewise that Christina cares very little for your court, and still less for you. My will is a law that is to be respected. Silence is your duty. Know that wheresoever Christina is, she is Queen.” This letter has no date. If Christina really wrote it, she can be looked on only as a murderess gone mad. This princess had a good understanding, and acquired no small glory by the contempt she showed for a throne; but then she sullied all that glory by her conduct. If this letter is fictitious, it can only be the work of one of those grovelling slaves, who

imagined that a Swedish woman, because she had reigned at Stockholm, had a right to cause an Italian to be murdered at Fontainebleau. On this occasion silence was so far from being the duty of Cardinal Mazarin, that, as prime minister, he should have made Christina feel the whole weight of the royal indignation. It was the duty of the attorney-general to prefer an information against these ruffians who had been hired to murder a foreigner in the royal palace; and, indeed, they should have obliged Queen Christina to be present at the execution of the assassins whom she had kept in pay, and afterward to quit the kingdom herself; nay, there are many persons of strict justice who would have gone to more rigorous lengths.

The author of this essay cannot have been influenced either by regard, hatred, or interest; and it is by no means from an inclination to flatter anyone that he has, in "The Age of Louis XIV.," taken some pains to refute the mistaken notion which had been broached in public, that the clergy of France were in possession of a third of the revenues of the nation. What had a layman and a recluse to hope from the favor of the clergy? He only meant to do honor to the truth he loves. The clergy have not eighty millions income, and that body has done its duty by assisting the necessities of the state, in proportion to its income. The French bishops have acquired the public esteem by their conduct, and by those extensive charities which cannot fail to

make them dear to their flocks in particular. In general, the body of clergy, dignified and others, in England and France, have done as much good as religious disputes formerly did harm, in those two kingdoms.

Several wise and moderate persons seem to wish that a general toleration might take place in France, as well as in England. An indulgence of this kind, say they, at once peoples and enriches a country; and a wise administration may always prevent the evil effects arising from a mixture of different faiths, especially as the superior understandings of the principal citizens would be a check upon the extravagance or absurdity of the lower class.

In treating of Jansenism and Molinism, I have exhibited them in that ridiculous light which is characteristic of their disputes, and I have endeavored to show that what is in itself contemptible frequently becomes dangerous from not being sufficiently despised. In proportion as the understandings of mankind are impressed with a proper notion of the bad tendency and absurdity of these disputes, the public peace will be secured against any attempts to injure it.

We have shown France happy and unhappy; successful and unfortunate; her military discipline encouraged and neglected; her revenues copious and exhausted; her navy respectable and ruined; and her trade flourishing and languid. These are vicissitudes inseparable from human affairs: but

we have not presumed to lay down rules for military discipline, or the better management of the revenue, the marine, or commerce. We write history, and not systems.

There are certain anecdotes in "The Age of Louis XIV." of which the author was certain, and which have been in vain contested. That of the Man of the Iron Mask, which gave birth to so many strange conjectures, is not more extraordinary than true. The author has, very lately, been favored with a letter from the lord of Palteau, a château near Villeneuve le Roi, wherein it is confirmed that this prisoner lodged in this château; that several persons saw him come out of his litter; that he wore a black mask; and that he is still very well remembered in the neighborhood. There was no necessity for this fresh proof; but nothing should be omitted that tends to ascertain the truth of a fact so much out of the common road.

Another singular circumstance which relates to philosophy, and which is, perhaps, more remarkable in the history of the human mind, is the manner in which these two learned prelates, Fénelon and Huet, thought in their last moments. The treatise on "The Weakness of the Human Mind," by which the bishop of Avranches finished his career, leaves no room to doubt what were his last sentiments. These verses of the archbishop of Cambray,

*Jeune j'étois trop sage,
Et voulois trop savoir, etc.*

have been denied to be his: but it is so certain that they were written by him that his nephew, while ambassador at The Hague, caused them to be printed at the end of a folio edition of "Telemachus," together with some other of his fugitive pieces. The copies which have these verses in them are very scarce, but they are to be met with in some libraries.

To conclude: in writing the history of "The Age of Louis XIV." the author was forty years seeking the truth, and he has delivered it.

THE MOGUL.

Though there were several Indian astronomers who understood calculating eclipses, yet the common people could not be brought to believe otherwise than that the sun had fallen into the throat of a great dragon, and that the only way to free him was by standing naked in the water, and making a hideous noise to frighten the dragon and oblige him to let go his hold. This notion, which is so generally prevalent among the Orientals, is an evident proof of how much the symbols of religion and philosophy have at all times been perverted by the common people. The astronomers of all ages have been wont to distinguish the two points of intersection, upon which every eclipse happens, and which are called the "Lunar Nodes," by marking them with a dragon's head and tail. Now the vul-

gar, who are equally ignorant in every part of the world, took the symbol or sign for the thing itself. Thus, when the astronomers said that the sun was in the dragon's head, the common people said that the dragon was going to swallow the sun; and yet these common people were remarkable for their fondness for astrology. But while we laugh at the ignorance and credulity of the Indians, we do not reflect that there are no less than three hundred thousand almanacs sold in Europe, all filled with observations and predictions equally as false and absurd as any to be met with among the Indians; and is it not as reasonable to say that the sun is in the mouth or the claws of a dragon, as to tell people every year, in print, that they must not sow, nor plant, nor take physic, nor be bled, except on certain days of the moon? It is high time, in an age like ours, that some men of learning should think it worth their while to compose a calendar that might be of real use to the industrious husbandman, and instruct instead of deceiving him.

We are told by a missionary of undoubted credit that in 1710 forty wives of the prince of Marava threw themselves alive on his funeral pile, and were burned with the corpse of their lord. The same author also says that in 1717 two princes of that country having died, seventeen wives of one and thirteen of the other, immolated themselves; and that the last, being with child, waited till she was delivered, and then threw herself into the flames.

The missionary adds, further, that these examples are more frequent among the principal castes, or classes, than among the lower people; and this we find confirmed by other missionaries. The contrary would seem the more probable, for the wives of the grandees have more to attach them to life than the wives of craftsmen, or of hard-working men; but unhappily, a notion of honor has been annexed to these voluntary sacrifices, and as women of rank are more susceptible of a love of glory than the vulgar, and as the Brahmins always claim the garments and ornaments worn by the unhappy victims on such occasions they have found it much more to their interest to encourage this delusion in the rich than in the poor.

PERSIA.

Among the many causes of complaint alleged by the Persians against their enemies, the Turks, the chief has always been the murder of Alee, though the Turks certainly were not the murderers of that prophet, as there were no such people as Turks then existing. But in this manner do the common people in general reason; and it is surprising that they did not sooner take advantage of this mutual hatred to establish a new sect.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

After the death of Tuman-bai, or Toman Bey, the last king of the Mamelukes, the people of Egypt sank into the lowest state of abjection; and they who are said to have been a brave and warlike race in the reign of Sesostris, are now more effeminate and dastardly than even in the time of Cleopatra. We are told that Egypt gave birth to the sciences, and now not one is cultivated there; that her people were sedate and grave, now they are volatile and unthinking, dancing and singing to the music of their own chains; her inhabitants, who are said to have been innumerable, are now reduced to three millions at the most. Neither Rome nor Athens has experienced a greater change than this country, which is an undeniable proof that, though a climate may have some influence on the dispositions of men, yet the government has a much greater.

THE BARBARY COAST.

A late dey of Algiers said to an English consul who was complaining to him of some prizes his corsairs had made: "Never complain to the captain of a gang that you have been robbed." Throughout all the northern parts of Africa we continually meet with monuments of the ancient

Romans, whereas there are not the least footprints of anything belonging to the Christians, notwithstanding that there were many more bishoprics here than in France and Spain put together. There are two reasons to be assigned for this: the one is, that the very ancient structures of hard stone, or of marble and cement, withstand the attacks of time in a dry climate better than the more modern edifices; the other, that monuments with the inscription "*Dii Manibus*" on them, which the Barbarians do not understand, do not consequently awaken their displeasure so much as the sight of the symbols of the Christian religion, to which they are such bitter enemies.

In the polite ages of Arabia the arts and sciences flourished among the Numidians. At present those people cannot so much as regulate their year, and though perpetually exercising the trade of pirates, they have not one pilot capable of taking an observation, nor one good shipbuilder among them. They even buy their ships, cordage, guns, and gunpowder of us Christians, and in particular of the Dutch, and with these they afterward take our merchant ships, while the powers of Christendom, instead of uniting to crush their common enemy, are busied in destroying one another.

FEZ AND MOROCCO.

The empire of Fez and Morocco reaches to the frontiers of Guinea, in a most pleasant climate; few territories are richer and more fruitful, or abound with greater variety. Several branches of Mount Atlas are full of mines, and the level country produces a great abundance of all kinds of grain, and some of the best fruits in the world. This country was formerly cultivated as it deserved. This must have been under the first caliphs, since we find the arts and sciences were then in high estimation, and these are generally the last matters attended to. The Moors and Arabians of this country carried their arts and their arms with them into Spain, but everything has since degenerated and fallen into a state of ignorance and barbarism. The Mahometan Arabians, who civilized this country, have since retired into the deserts, where they lead a pastoral life, and the government has been left to the Moors, a race of men less favored by nature than their climate, and less industrious than the Arabians — a people at once cruel and slavish. Here we find despotic power reigning in all its horrors. The ancient custom which compels the Miramolins, or emperors of Morocco, to be the chief executioners in their kingdom, has not a little contributed to make the inhabitants of this vast empire infinitely greater savages than the Mexicans. Those of Tetuan are

a little more civilized, but the remainder of this nation are a disgrace to human nature. Several of the Jews driven out of Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella took refuge with their families in Tetuan, Mekinez, and Morocco, where they lead the most miserable lives. The inhabitants of the northern provinces have intermixed with the blacks who live about the banks of the Niger.

There have been religious disputes in this kingdom, as well as in all others, and a sect of Mussulmans, who pretended to be more orthodox than the others, disposed of the throne, which never happened at Constantinople. There have been also some civil wars, but at length the dominions of Fez, Morocco, and Tasilet were united into one empire in the seventeenth century, after the famous victory gained by the Moors over the unfortunate Don Sebastian, king of Portugal.

Notwithstanding the great degree of brutal stupidity into which this people are fallen, the Spaniards and Portuguese have never yet been able to take vengeance on them for their former slavery, and subject them in their turn. Oran, which is the frontier of their empire toward Spain, though once taken by Cardinal Ximenes, and again by the duke of Montemar, in the reign of Philip V. (since which time it has remained in the hands of the Spaniards), has not opened them a way to further conquests. Tangier, which might be the key of the empire, has never proved of any use to them: and lastly,

Ceuta, taken by the Portuguese in 1409, and afterward by the Spaniards — in the reign of Philip II.— who have kept it ever since, has been only a dead expense to them. Thus we find that the Moors subdued all Spain, whereas the Spaniards have as yet been able only to vex the Moors; and after having crossed the Atlantic Ocean, and conquered a new world, they have not the power to avenge themselves within five leagues of their own kingdom. The Moors, though badly armed, worse disciplined, and slaves to the most detestable of all governments, have hitherto bidden defiance to all the attempts of the Christians to subject them. The true cause seems to lie in the constant dissensions of the latter among themselves. How, for instance, could the Spaniards cross over to Barbary with a force sufficient to subdue the Mussulmans, when they had their neighbors, the French, to fight against? Or, when at peace and in union with France, how could they engage in such an expedition, when the English had taken Gibraltar and Minorca from them?

It is somewhat extraordinary that there should be so great a number of Spanish, French, and English renegades in the empire of Morocco. We find a Spaniard of the name of Perez admiral under Muley Ismail; a Frenchman, named Pilet, governor of Salee; an Irish woman mistress to the tyrant Ismail; and some natives of England settled as merchants at Tetuan. The hopes of making

a fortune among an ignorant people has always carried Europeans to Africa, Asia, and America, particularly the latter. The contrary reason keeps the people of those regions from visiting us.

DEATH OF HENRY III.

The name of Herod, which was given to Henry III., was not due to any resemblance between him and that petty prince of Palestine, but only because the common people, having heard that Herod had caused all the young children in his country to be put to death, therefore thought this a proper appellation for Henry, whom they looked upon as a tyrant, while they considered his murderer, Clément, as a saint and a martyr.

In almost every Catholic country — Venice excepted — the crime committed by James Clément was looked upon as a most meritorious act. The Jesuit Mariana, who passes for a wise and grave historian, expresses himself thus in his book "Of the Institution of Laws"; "James Clément raised to himself a great name; here murder was atoned by murder, and the king's blood was shed as a sacrifice to the manes of the duke of Guise, who had been assassinated by his orders. Thus died James Clément, at the age of 24, a man who will forever be the glory of France." The French carried their enthusiastic folly so far as to cause the picture of this murderer to be placed on the altars, with these words beneath: "St. James Clément, pray for us."

The true form of the sentence passed upon the dead body of this assassin was for a long time unknown. He was prosecuted by the marquis de Richelieu, grand provost of France, and father of Cardinal Richelieu; and Attorney-General La Guèlle, who was present when the murder was committed, and who had himself introduced Clément to the deceased king, did not appear in the character of his office on this trial, but only as a person who came there to give evidence in common with others. It was Henry IV. who pronounced the sentence himself, by which the body of the monk was ordered to be quartered and burned; the sentence was passed with the advice of his council, and signed "*Rusé.*"

Another circumstance which has not been known hitherto is that another Jacobin monk named Jean le Roy, having murdered the commandant of Coutance in Normandy, Henry IV. tried this miscreant the same day that he tried Clément; and sentenced Jean le Roy to be sewed up in a sack, and thrown into the river; which sentence was executed at St. Cloud, two days after. Both the sentence and the punishment were very uncommon, but the crimes which occasioned them were still more horrible.

HENRY IV.

What does Bayle mean by beginning his article of Henry IV. with saying that if he had been made a eunuch when he was young, he might have eclipsed the glory of Alexander and of Cæsar. Does he pre-

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tend by that to insinuate that to be a great man one must be only half a man; or was he ignorant how many great leaders have joined love with war? Charles XII. was the only one of all those who have gained themselves fame by their arms who absolutely renounced all connections with the fair sex; and he met with more ill fortune than success. Not that I have any inclination, in a work of this serious kind, to flatter the idle gallantry which has long been the reproach of the French nation. I mean only to enforce this great truth, that nature, who gives us all our qualifications, does almost always deny strength and courage to those who have been deprived of the insignia of manhood, or, at least, who have them imperfectly formed. Nature is the same through all the creation: it is not the ox, but the bull, who fights. The powers both of body and mind depend on this source of existence. We find only one general, Narses, who was a eunuch, and only two learned men, Origen and Photius. Henry IV. was frequently in love, and sometimes foolishly so; but he was never effeminate. The fair Gabrielle calls him, in her letters, "my soldier." This appellation alone is sufficient to refute Bayle.

The Jesuit Jouvençy acknowledges in his history that Nigri, superior of the novices of that order in Paris, assembled all of them in France, and led them to meet the pope's army at Verdun; into which he incorporated them; and that this army

marked its progress through the kingdom by the most terrible devastations. This circumstance sufficiently shows the spirit of those times.

The monks might then indeed, with some reason, say in their writings that the pope had a right to depose kings, since he was on the point of establishing that right by the sword.

You will remark that the parliament wanted to sit in the general assembly of the states by deputation or proxy, and that they could not obtain it. You will remark also that this very parliament had just before ordered an arret of the king's parkament, held at Châlons, against the pope's legate and his pretended power of presiding at the election of a king of France, to be burned by the hands of the common hangman.

Much about the same time, several of the citizens having presented a petition to the city and parliament, desiring that the king might at least be pressed to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, before they proceeded to the election; the Sorbonne declare this petition "unfit, seditious, impious, and idle, inasmuch as they well know the obstinacy of Henry the apostate," at the same time excommunicating the authors of the petition, and banishing them from the city. This decree, which was written in very bad Latin, and was certainly the production of weak and superstitious minds, is dated Nov. 1, 1592. It was afterward revoked, though of very little signifi-

cation whether it was or not; but had not Henry IV. enjoyed the crown it would have continued in force, and Philip II. would have been loaded with the appellations of protector of France and of the Church.

While Henry's adversaries were employing the sword and pen, politics and superstition, against him, and during the sitting of the assembly of the states, which was as tumultuous and divided as it was irregular, Henry was at the gates of Paris, and threatened to reduce it.

Henry IV. had about his person a private envoy from Queen Elizabeth, who, in a letter he wrote to his royal mistress, concerning the king's changing his religion, has these very words:

"The following is the manner in which the king excuses himself, on account of his change of religion, and the very words in which he expressed himself to me:

" 'When I came to the crown eight hundred gentlemen and nine regiments left my service, on pretence that I was a heretic; the Leaguers immediately set about choosing another king, and the most powerful of them offered their services to the duke of Guise, whereupon I determined, after mature deliberation, to embrace the Romish religion, and by that step I have entirely won over the third party, have prevented the election of the duke of Guise, and have gained the good-will of the people of

France. I have had the promise of the duke of Florence in regard to some matters of great importance and have finally prevented the reformed religion from being entirely rooted out.' ”

Henry sent the Sieur Morland, his ambassador, to the queen of England, to inform her of what had passed, and to make his excuses to her as well as he could. Morland tells us that Elizabeth made him this reply: “Is it possible, then, that any worldly consideration can have made the king, your master, lay aside the fear of God ! ” When we hear the murderess of Mary Stuart talking of the fear of God, we cannot help thinking the character of a hypocrite, which has been given her by most historians, to be too true ; but when we hear the brave and generous Henry declaring that he had changed his religion merely for the good of his country, which should be the governing principle with all crowned heads, we cannot doubt that he spoke from his heart. How then can the Jesuit Daniel offer so glaring an insult to truth, and to the understanding of his readers, as to assert, even against all probability, a cloud of witnesses, and the principles of the human mind, that Henry IV. had been long a Catholic in his heart ? Once more I must repeat that the count de Boulainvilliers was perfectly in the right when he asserted that no Jesuit could be a faithful historian.

The ambassadors of Philip II. left Paris the very

day that Henry made his entry into that city, without having the least violence offered to their persons; only the king, who saw them passing by a window, where he was standing, called out to them: "Gentlemen, pray give my compliments to your master, but I desire never to see you here again."

Several politicians have pretended that when Henry IV. had secured the mastery, he should have imitated Queen Elizabeth, and have entirely separated his nation from the Romish communion. They furthermore say that the balance of Europe inclined too much in favor of Philip II. of Spain and the Catholics, and that to have kept this balance equal, he should have made France Protestant as the only means of rendering them a numerous, rich, and powerful people.

But Henry IV. was not in the same situation as Elizabeth; he had not a well-disciplined army at command, nor the parliament of the nation in his interests. Moreover, he was in want of money; he had but few troops to withstand Philip II., who was always ready to attack him, and the Leaguers were still powerful and in high spirits.

It was a thing highly worthy of admiration that Henry IV., notwithstanding the exhausted and desolated state in which he found the kingdom, should, in less than fifteen years, have been able to ease the burden of the *taille* by nearly four millions of the cur-

rency of his time, which would make ten of ours; to lessen the other duties one-half, and to pay off a hundred millions of the crown debts, which would make two hundred millions of the present money. He redeemed lands which are now alienated to the amount of more than a hundred millions; all the strong places were fortified, the magazines and arsenals well filled, and the highways repaired; all which is to the immortal glory of the duke of Sully, and of his royal master, who had the happy boldness to make choice of a soldier to repair the disorders in the public finances; and who did not disdain to labor in concert with the minister of his choice.

About the time that Henry IV. was murdered, there was published an apology for John Châtel, in which it is said that the attempt was a virtuous, heroic, and meritorious act; and worthy to be compared to the noblest deeds recorded in sacred or profane history. "There is but one thing can be found fault with," adds the apologist, "which is, that Châtel did not complete what he had begun, by sending the apostate to his proper place with Judas."

This apology clearly shows the reason why Guignard could never be brought to ask forgiveness of the king was that he did not look upon him as king. "The constancy of this holy man," says the author of the apology, "would never suffer him to acknowledge one whom the Church did not acknowledge; and although the judges condemned

his body to be burned, and his ashes scattered in the air, yet will his blood never cease to cry out against his murderers, before the throne of the God of Hosts, who will not fail to repay their wickedness seven-fold upon their heads."

Such was the spirit of the League and of the priests in those days; and such the terrible abuse made of religion, which was so ill understood; an abuse which has continued even to the present time.

It is not long since a Jesuit, named La Croix, who was professor of divinity in Cologne, reprinted with notes a book of one of the ancient Jesuits, called Besenbaum, which would have remained as much unknown as the author and his commentator if they had unhappily served to revive the detestable doctrine of murder and regicide.

It is said in this work that any person outlawed by a prince cannot be lawfully put to death anywhere but in the dominions of such prince; but that a crowned head, excommunicated by the pope, may be murdered wherever he is found, inasmuch as the pope is sovereign lord of the universe; and that anyone having orders to slay an excommunicated person, be he who he will, may delegate his charge to another, and that it is an act of charity to accept of such charge.

It is true that the parliaments of France condemned this abominable book; and the Jesuits of that kingdom probably declared their abhorrence of the doctrine it contained; but, on the other hand, a new

edition of this book, which has lately appeared with additions, sufficiently shows that these infernal tenets have been long ingrafted in a number of minds; that they have been looked on as points of our holy religion; and that consequently the laws cannot exert themselves with too much rigor against the teachers and abettors of this vile doctrine of king-killing.

Everyone knows that Ravailiac was a novice, in an order of begging friars of St. Bernard, who were still infatuated with the fanatic spirit of the Leaguers, and that this infamous miscreant was abandoned to superstition, and all manner of vice. Counsellor Matthew, historiographer of France, who held a long conversation with him in his little Hôtel de Retz, near the Louvre, tells us that this wretch had been for several years under a strong temptation to murder the king. A counsellor of the parliament asked him in the same hotel, and in the presence of Matthew, how he dared to lift his hand against the most Christian king? "It is first to be known," replied he, "if he is most Christian."

The irresistible force of destiny shows itself more plainly in this event than in almost any other we read of. A country schoolmaster, without forming a conspiracy, without having an accomplice, or being the least interested in what he did, kills Henry, in the midst of his subjects, and changes the face of affairs in Europe.

The whole of the proceedings against him, which were printed in 1611, show that this man had in fact no other accomplices than the sermons of the preachers of those times, and the discourses of the monks. He was a great bigot, much given to mental and extempore prayer, and he pretended at times to have visions from heaven. He confessed that, after leaving the Feuillants, he had frequently a desire to take the Jesuits' habit. He also confessed that his first design had been only to persuade the king to banish the reformed religion out of France; and that once in the Christmas holidays, seeing the king pass in his coach through the same street where he afterward murdered him, he cried out, as loud as he was able: "Sire, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the most holy Virgin Mary, I conjure you to let me speak to you;" but that the guards pushed him away from the coach; that then he returned to Angoulême, his birthplace, where he kept a school, and had eighty pupils, and, that during his stay there he frequently went to confession, and took the sacrament; and it appeared, from many proofs, that he conceived his hellish design in the midst of the most fanatic acts of devotion. His answer to the second interrogatory, in his examination, was this: "No one whatever either counselled or assisted me in perpetrating this deed; only that hearing the soldiers in general saying among themselves that if the king were to make war against the pope, they would assist him and lay down

their lives for his cause; therefore, and for that reason, I suffered myself to be led away by the strong desire I felt to kill the king, because, in my opinion, making war against the pope was making war on God, inasmuch as the pope is God and God is the pope." Thus we find everything concurs to prove to us that Henry IV. was in fact the victim of a horrible prejudice, which had, for a long time, blinded the understandings of mankind, and spread desolation over the face of the earth.

It has been confidently asserted that Henry's approaching death was talked of in the Low Countries long before the fatal blow was given. It is not at all astonishing that the partisans of the Catholic League, seeing the formidable army he was on the point of leading into the field, might say that nothing but the death of Henry could save them. They and the rest of the Leaguers undoubtedly wished for a second John Châtel to arise; we easily pass from desire to hope, this hope will break forth in expressions, and these are wafted abroad; something of this kind had reached the ears of Ravailac, and determined him to put his bloody purpose in execution.

It is certain also that it had been told to Henry that he should die in his coach. This notion arose from the great dread this prince, otherwise so intrepid, was always under of being overturned, when in any wheel-carriage. This natural weakness was looked on by astrologers as a foreboding,

an omen; and this notion of theirs, formed at random, was verified by the most improbable of all events.

CARDINAL RICHELIEU'S ADMINISTRATION.

Louis XIII. insisted that his brother's marriage with Margaret of Lorraine should be annulled. Gaston had only a daughter by his first wife, the heiress of Montpensier. Now if the heir presumptive of the crown persisted in his second marriage, and a son should be born of it, the king wanted to have this son declared a bastard, and incapable of inheriting the crown.

This was an absolute violation of all religion, laws, and customs; but as religion can only be instituted for the good of a state, it is certain, that when its customs are hurtful or dangerous, they should be abolished.

It is a matter not very worthy of attention that there should be only twenty persons found to purchase the twenty-four new judges' seats; but what will serve to show us the spirit of mankind, and especially of Frenchmen, is that these newly created members were a long time despised and hated by the whole body; that, in the war of the League, they were obliged to pay fifteen thousand livres each, to obtain the good graces of their brethren, by contributions to a war against the government; that,

as we shall see hereafter, this got them the nickname of the *Quinse-vingt*, or the fifteen twenties. Lastly, when an attempt was made to lay aside these useless members, the parliament, who cried out against their being first introduced, as mere supernumeraries, exclaimed as loudly against their being suppressed. Thus are the same things well or ill received, according to the spirit of the times, and the remedy is frequently as much complained of as the disease.

THE JESUIT CAUSSIN.

This Jesuit advised Louis XIII. to put the kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary, in order to sanctify the king's amours with Mademoiselle de la Fayette, which was looked on only as a union of minds in which the senses had very little share. The good father's advice was followed, and Cardinal Richelieu put this project in practice the following year, while Caussin celebrated in wretched doggerel at Quimper-Corentin, the particular regard the Virgin had for the kingdom of France. The house of Austria happened to have the Virgin for its patroness likewise, so that our holy lady must have been extremely put to it which of them to serve, had it not been that the Swedes and the duke of Weimar were Protestants.

Observe that you will never meet with any great

troubles in history, or any intrigues of council, without the confessors of kings having a hand in them, which often ends in their own disgrace. For instance, a prince has the weakness to consult his confessor on state affairs — and by the bye this is one of the greatest inconveniences attending auricular confession. The confessor, who is almost always of some one party, endeavors to make his royal penitent consider the views of this party as the will of God. The minister soon comes to the knowledge of these artifices, upon which the confessor is disgraced, and another is taken in his place, who practises the very same.

When it came to be perceived how full the pretended testament of Cardinal Richelieu was of errors in chronology and topography, false computations, and the most absurd and ignorant assertions, such as, for instance, that France had a greater number of ports in the Mediterranean than Spain, and chiefly, that in all this spurious work there was not the least mention made of the manner in which it was proper to carry on the war in which the French monarchy was then engaged, this famous production became as much despised as it was before admired.

SPAIN UNDER PHILIP IV.

Spain has suffered so great a depopulation that Don Ustariz, a famous statesman, who wrote in



HERNANDO CORTES



1723, for the good of his country, reckons the number of inhabitants at that time, not to amount to more than seven millions, or about a third of what are in France; and while he laments the great decrease of useful subjects in that state, he at the same time complains that the number of monks in the kingdom had almost always continued the same. He also confesses that the revenues of the masters of the mines of Mexico and of Peru did not amount to eighty millions of livres of the present money — about three millions and a half sterling.

After the death of Philip IV., which happened in 1666, Spain was very unfortunate. Mary of Austria, widow of the deceased king, and sister of the emperor Leopold, was regent during the minority of Don Carlos, or Charles, the second of that name, his son. Her regency was not so distracted as that of Anne of Austria in France; but they had this melancholy conformity with each other; the queen of Spain drew upon herself the hatred of the whole nation by giving the administration into the hands of a foreign priest, as the queen of France made all her people her enemies by subjecting them to the yoke of an Italian cardinal; the principal grandees opposed the ministers in both states, and the interior government was equally ill conducted in one and the other.

The prime minister, who governed the Spanish nation for some time during the minority of Charles II., was the Jesuit Evrard Nitard, a German, con-

fessor to the queen, and Grand Inquisitor of the kingdom. The incompatibility which religion seems to have placed between the monastic vow and ministerial intrigues soon raised a general murmur against this Jesuit.

The character of Nitard added not a little to the public indignation against him. Though he was very capable of ruling over the mind of his penitent, he was by no means fit to hold the reins of government in a state, having nothing of the minister or the priest, but pride and ambition, even without the necessary covering of dissimulation. He one day had the insolence to say to the duke of Lerma, "It is you who owe respect to me, who have every day your God in my hands, and your queen at my feet." With this pride, so opposite to true greatness, he suffered the treasury to be emptied, all the strong places in the kingdom to fall to ruin, the ports to be left without shipping, and the forces without discipline, and without any leaders capable of commanding them. This negligence of his, more especially, contributed to the first advantages which Louis XIV. gained over his brother-in-law and mother-in-law, when he attacked them in 1667, and took from them one-half of Flanders, and all Franche-Comté.

A party was formed against the Jesuit minister, as in France against Cardinal Mazarin; and Nitard found in Don John of Austria, natural son of Philip IV., as implacable an enemy as the great Condé was

to the cardinal. Condé was imprisoned. Don John was banished. These disputes gave rise to two factions that divided the Spanish nation, but without a civil war, which, however, was just on the point of breaking out, when the queen prevented it by banishing Nitard — though much against her will — as Queen Anne of Austria was obliged to discharge Mazarin. But this latter returned more powerful than ever, whereas, Nitard, who was dismissed in 1667, could never again get footing in Spain. The reason was, that the queen regent had taken another confessor in his stead, who opposed the return of his predecessor; whereas the queen of France had no minister near her to supply the place of Mazarin.

Nitard went to Rome, where he in vain solicited a cardinal's hat, which is seldom bestowed on disgraced ministers, and was obliged to live a retired life, very little countenanced by his brethren, who indeed are seldom fond of a person who has raised himself above their level. But at length, by his own assiduity, and the good offices of the queen of Spain, he obtained his hat, which is so much the darling object of all churchmen; and now his brother Jesuits were by the ears who should first pay their court to him.

The reign of Charles II. of Spain was as weak as that of Philip III. and IV., as you will see in "The Age of Louis XIV."

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ITALY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Pope Pius IV. sent a body of troops into France, to assist Charles IX. against the Huguenots. These troops were at the battle of Moncontour. To so low an ebb was the French government at that time fallen, that two thousand of the pope's soldiers were looked upon as a very valuable assistance.

SWEDEN AND POLAND.

Here is another strange vicissitude and contrast in the affairs of the North. Sweden, which was so despotically governed of late, became the most independent kingdom in the world, and that in which the king is most dependent on his people; while, on the contrary, Denmark, where the king had formerly no more authority than a doge, and where the sovereign power was vested in the nobles, and the common people were all slaves, has, since 1661, been the most absolute monarchy upon the earth. The clergy and the burghers chose rather to submit to an absolute sovereign than to a hundred nobles, every one of whom was for having the chief command. Accordingly they obliged the nobles to become subjects as well as themselves, and to invest Frederick III. with an unlimited monarchy. Thus he was the only monarch in the universe who, by the formal consent of all the orders of the kingdom,

was acknowledged as absolute master of the people and the laws, "which he might either make, annul, or neglect, according to his own will." This formidable power was committed into his hand in a juridical manner, and happily his successors have not abused it. They have been sensible that their true greatness consisted in the happiness of their subjects. Sweden and Denmark have cultivated trade by methods diametrically opposite to each other; the former by making themselves free, the latter by giving up their liberties.

SABATEI SEVI.

It is a standing tradition among the Jews, that the Shiloh or Messiah, their avenger and king, is not to appear till the coming of Elias; and they are persuaded that they have had one Elias, who is to appear again at the renewing of the world. This Elias has, by some learned persons, been taken for the sun, on account of the conformity between this name and "*Elios*," which in Greek signifies the sun; as also from the story of Elias or Elijah being carried up to heaven in a fiery chariot, drawn by four horses, which has a great resemblance to the poetical fiction of the chariot of the sun and his four horses. But without employing our time in such researches, or examining whether the Hebrew books were written after the time of Alexander, when the Jewish factors residing in Alexandria had learned

something of the Grecian mythology, it is sufficient to remark that the Jews have been in expectation of the coming of Elias from time immemorial; and to this very day, when these deluded people perform the ceremony of circumcision on a new-born infant, they always place a chair for Elias, in case he should please to honor them with his presence. Elias, according to them, is to introduce the great sabbath, the great Messiah, and the general revolution of all things. This notion has been received among Christians. The Elias is to come to declare the dissolution of this world, and a new order of things. Almost all the different sects of fanatics expect an Elias. The prophets of the Cévennes, who came to London in 1707, to raise the dead, pretended to have seen Elias, and to have spoken to him; and that he was to show himself to the people. In 1724, the magistrate of the police sent two Eliases to prison, who fought with each other who should be accounted the true one. It was therefore absolutely necessary for Sabatei Sevi to set out with declaring himself to be the Messiah, otherwise his pretended mission would have been treated as an imposture.

He met with one Nathan, a Jewish rabbi, who thought there was something to be gained by playing a part in this farce. Accordingly Sabatei declared to the Jews of Asia Minor and Syria, that this Nathan was Elias, and Nathan on his part

insisted that Sabatei was the Messiah, the Shiloh, expected by the chosen people.

THE SIEGE OF VIENNA.

It has been the custom of all the princes, from Constantinople to the farther limits of Asia, always to keep a treasure by them as a resource in times of war or other necessity. They are unacquainted with the method of raising money on extraordinary supplies, or by the creation or sale of offices, government securities, or annuities. The circulation of specie and public credit are things unknown among them, and these potentates content themselves with amassing all the gold, silver, or jewels, they possibly can. This had been the custom in the East ever since the time of Cyrus: and Kara Mustapha, the Turkish vizier, thought it was the same with the emperors of Germany.

CHINA.

The emperor Yon-tching, successor to Cam-hi, when he drove the European missionaries out of his empire, spoke to them in the following manner; which they have had the honesty to relate in their "Letters Curious and Edifying:"

"What would you say if I were to send a number of bonzes and lamas into your country? How would you receive them? If you have found means to

impose on my father, do not think I will suffer you to deceive me in the same manner. You would have my Chinese embrace your religion; now I very well know that you will not permit of any worship different from your own: what then must become of me and my people? The subjects of your princes, and the disciples whom you make, acknowledge no other authority than yours. In times of trouble and distraction they are wholly guided by your voices. I am sensible that at present we have nothing to fear; but when your vessels shall find the way hither by thousands, times of trouble and distraction may ensue."

The very Jesuits who give us an account of this speech acknowledge with every other writer, that this emperor was one of the wisest and most generous princes that ever ascended a throne. His whole study was to relieve the necessities of the poor, by setting them to work; to enforce the observance of the laws, by setting the example himself; to check the ambition and intrigues of the bonzes; to maintain peace and plenty throughout his empire; and to cultivate and encourage all the useful arts, especially agriculture. During his reign the public edifices, the high roads, and the canals, which form a communication between all the principal rivers of the empire, were supported with a magnificence and economy of which there has been no example but among the ancient Romans.

ROME.

Several of the French bishops, in the year 1682, laid aside the form of styling themselves such by the divine permission, which was altogether unknown to the first ages of Christianity; and in 1754, a bishop had the noble resolution to omit it entirely in a mandate which was to be handed down to posterity; and is the only one that expressly asserts what no supreme pontiff ever yet ventured to declare; namely, that all men, even infidels, are our brethren.

The pope has retained, in every Roman Catholic state, certain prerogatives, which he undoubtedly would not have obtained, had not time put him in possession of them.

THE THIRD CIVIL WAR.

The finances in France had, ever since the death of the great Henry IV., been as badly managed as in Spain and Germany. The administration was a perfect chaos, and ignorance and rapine lorded it over the land: the latter of these was not, indeed, so extensive, nor had it such considerable objects as at present. The government was not the eighth part so much in debt as it now is; it had not armies of two hundred thousand men to keep in pay; it had not immense subsidies to bestow, nor a

war by sea to support. The revenues of the government amounted in the first years of the regency to nearly seventy-five millions of livres of those days. This would have been enough to meet all calls, if there had been any economy in the ministry; but in 1646 and the following year, they were in want of new supplies. The superintendent of the finances at that time was Emeric, a peasant of Sienna, who had a soul more mean than his birth, and who, by his insolence and licentiousness, irritated the whole nation against him. This man invented schemes for raising money, equally ridiculous and burdensome. He created places of comptrollers of firewood, sworn sellers of hay, wine-carriers of the king's council, and made a public sale of letters of nobility. The annuities on the town house of Paris did not then amount to more than eleven millions; the annuitants were obliged to give up several quarters; additional duties were laid on all imports, and several new places of *maîtres des requêtes* created; and besides all this, about eighty thousand crowns were kept back out of the salaries of the magistrates.

It may easily be imagined that the minds of the people were greatly irritated against two Italians, who had come into France without any fortune, had enriched themselves at the expense of the nation, and who by their conduct had rendered themselves so justly obnoxious. The Parliament of Paris, the *maîtres des requêtes*, all the other courts, and the

annuitants, joined together to oppose them. Mazarin took away the post of superintendent from his confidant Emeric, and banished him to one of his estates at a distance from Paris; but this sacrifice came too late; everyone loudly complained that such a man should have any estates in France, and Mazarin himself was universally detested, though at that very time he had put the finishing hand to the Peace of Münster. For we must observe that this famous treaty, and the barricades, happened in the same year, 1648.

The civil wars in Paris began, like those in London, about a trifling sum of money.

THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT.

The duchess of Nemours, in her "Memoirs," tells us that the prince of Condé presented a little crook-backed dwarf, armed cap-a-pie, to the queen, saying: "Behold the generalissimo of the Parisian forces." These words were designed as a reflection on his brother, the prince of Conti, who was deformed, and whom the Parisians had chosen to head them. Nevertheless, Condé himself was afterward general of the same troops; and Madame de Nemours adds that she often heard him declare that this whole war deserved to be written only in doggerel verse.

THE DEATH OF CROMWELL.

I do not know whether it is true that Cromwell played the enthusiast and prophet on his deathbed, by telling his physicians that he was certain that

God would work a miracle in his favor. His secretary, Thurloe, tells us that his words were: "Nature can do more than the physicians." This was not talking like an enthusiast, but like a man of understanding. It might so happen that, from a conviction of the possibility of the physicians being mistaken in their judgment, he had a mind, in case he should recover, to give the people a higher opinion of his sanctity, and thereby render his person more respected, and even sacred.

THE DEATH OF CONDE.

It is a current story, but such as merits our contempt, that Montecuculi resigned the command of the army after the death of Turenne, alleging that he had no longer any rival worthy to contend with. This would have been a very foolish assertion, even if the great Condé had not been living. But, so far from expressing himself in this ridiculous manner, which has been as ridiculously imputed to him as an honor, he actually fought against the French, and compelled them to repass the Rhine, that very same year. Besides, what general who had the command of an army would say to his master: "I will serve you no longer because your enemies are too weak, and I have too great a superiority of merit."

COLBERT AND FOUQUET.

It was the League and the war of Paris that first set a price on places in the courts of judicature;

and as it was one of the greatest faults and misfortunes of a government, for a long time overwhelmed with debt, that France should be the only nation in the world where the office of a judge is venal; so, on the other hand, it is the consequence of the old leaven of sedition, and a kind of insult to the crown, that the place of king's attorney should cost more than the first dignities of the state.

We should never be the dupes of those premeditated answers or public speeches, which the heart frequently disavows. Colbert was outwardly a man of moderation; but it is incontestable that he labored with the most cruel assiduity to take Fouquet's life. The same person may be a good minister and of a vindictive spirit. It is to be regretted that he was not as generous as he was vigilant.

But the most implacable of Fouquet's persecutors was the person appointed for his judge, Michael Letellier, the chancellor, who behaved to him with the greatest cruelty, when he went to examine him in the Bastille, and who did all in his power to get him capitally condemned. Therefore, when we read the funeral oration of this chancellor, spoken by Bossuet, and compare it with his conduct, what can we think, except that a funeral oration is no other than a common harangue?

ST. ÉVREMOND.

When Louis XIV. sent St. Évremond leave to return to his own country, at the latter end of his life, the philosopher scorned to accept this permission as a favor, and by his example showed that every man's country is that in which he can live the happiest: his was England.

LOUIS XIV.

It is a known anecdote that Louis XIV. having proposed to place Pelletier at the head of the exchequer, after the death of Colbert, Letellier told his majesty that he was not a proper person for that office. "And why so?" demanded the king. "Because, sir," answered Letellier, "his disposition is not harsh enough." "But do you know," replied the king, "that I want not to have my people treated harshly?" This new minister was indeed a good and just man; but when, in 1688, France was again involved in a war, and had to defend itself against the effort of the League of Augsburg; that is to say, against the joint forces of almost all Europe, he found himself loaded with a burden that would have proved too heavy even for the shoulders of Colbert. In this exigency, the easy and unhappy expedient of borrowing on annuities was the first he had recourse to. He afterward attempted to lay a restriction on

luxury, which, in a kingdom abounding in manufactures, is putting a check to industry, and the circulation of money; and this is never to be done, but in a nation which pays foreigners for the articles of luxury.

At this time also we meet with one of those unpardonable faults in an administration, which have been corrected but of late years; I mean the debasing of the current coin, and by an unequal valuation making the crowns of less intrinsic value than the quarts; by which means all the latter were bought up, and carried into foreign countries, where they were melted down again, and cast into crowns, and afterward returned to France, to the great loss of that kingdom, and the gain of others. A country must be very strong in itself to stand the force of such repeated shocks, and yet preserve its credit; but the ministry was at that time ignorant. The finances were then like the metaphysics — a mere conjectural science, and the contractors were a set of impudent impostors, who cheated the ministry. The government sustained a loss of eighty millions by this management — a loss which required over twenty years to repair.

They were continually obliged to have recourse to extraordinaries, as they are called. They created ridiculous posts, which are always eagerly purchased by those who are desirous to be exempted

from the *taille*, a tax which carries with it a mark of debasement in France; and as men are by nature inclined to be vain, they are almost always the dupes of any scheme that excuses them from this. Moreover, the salaries annexed to these places are another allurements to those to become purchasers in times of necessity, who do not reflect that these places will be suppressed as soon as matters are on a better footing. Thus, in 1707, the ministry invented the dignity of king's counsellors, brokers, and dealers in wine, which brought in one hundred and eighty thousand livres. They likewise created the imaginary offices of king's registers, and subdelegates to the intendants of provinces; king's counsellors, comptrollers of fire-wood, counsellors of the police, barber peruke makers, comptroller visitants of fresh butter, and tasters of salt butter. These extravagances make people smile nowadays, but they drew tears from all eyes in those times.

CALVINISM.

In the war of 1701, rebellion and fanaticism broke out in Languedoc and the neighboring parts. This rebellion was excited by the spirit of prophecy. Predictions have at all times been the means made use of to mislead simple people, and inflame the minds of bigots. If one only, out of a hundred events foretold by a daring impostor, comes to pass, through mere hazard, the rest that fail are buried in

oblivion; and this is looked on as a certain testimony of the favor of heaven, and the proof of a prodigy. If a prediction does not come to pass literally, it is explained away; it has a new sense given to it, which fanatics adopt and fools believe.

Jurieu, a Calvinist minister, was a most violent prophet. He began by setting himself above one Cotterus, a certain Christina, a Justus Velsius, and a Drabitus, whom he pretended to be persons inspired by God. He then put himself almost on a level with the author of Revelations, and St. Paul. His followers caused a medal to be struck in Holland, with this inscription on the exergue, "*Jurius Propheta.*" He foretold the deliverance of the people for over eight years. He established his schools for prophecy in the mountains of Dauphiny, and of Vivarais, and Cévennes; countries perfectly well adapted to such purposes: where the inhabitants are ignorant by nature, and have their imaginations heated by the warmth of the climate, and the enthusiastic discourses of their preachers.

The first of these schools was set up in a glass-house, on a mountain in Dauphiny, called *Peira*.

Brousson had laid a plan for introducing the English and Savoyard forces into Languedoc. This plan, written with his own hand, and addressed to the duke of Schomberg, had been intercepted some time before this, and was in the custody of the intendant of the province. Brousson, as he was wan-

dering from town to town, was seized at length at Oléron, and carried to the citadel of Montpellier, where he was kept closely confined. He was examined, while in prison, by the intendant and judge of the province, to whom he declared that he was an apostle of Jesus Christ, and had received the gift of the Holy Ghost; that therefore he dared not betray the faith committed to his charge, but was in duty bound to distribute the bread of the word to all his brethren. They asked if the apostles had written plans to stir up a province to rebellion, and thereupon exhibited to him a paper written with his own hand. After this he was unanimously condemned to be broken on the wheel. He died after the manner of the first martyrs. All those of his own sect, and even all foreigners, far from considering him as a criminal of state, saw in him only a saint, who had sealed the faith with his blood; and books were published with the title of "The Martyrdom of M. de Brousson."

JANSENISM.

Religion may yet sharpen the poniards of fanaticism. There is always in a nation a certain set of people, who hold no commerce with persons of honor and reputation, who are not of this age, nor are to be affected by the progress of reason in the human mind, and in whose souls fanaticism still exercises its baleful influence, like certain distempers, which are found only among the lower classes.

THE QUIETISTS.

La Combe, Madame Guyon's director, carried her with him to his little birthplace of Annecy, in Savoy. Even this was a very indecent step in a clergyman, to carry a young and handsome woman away out of her own country, but it has almost always been the custom of those who are desirous to establish a sect, to carry women with them.

THOUGHTS ON THE PANORAMA OF HISTORY.

A sensible reader will easily perceive that he is to credit such great events only as carry with them an air of probability, and that he should look with pity and contempt on all those fabulous relations with which fanaticism and the spirit of fiction and credulity have, in every age, loaded the history of the world.

Constantine triumphed over the emperor Maxentius; but most certainly the labarum, with its Greek inscription, never appeared to him in the clouds.

Clovis, yet reeking with the blood of those he had caused to be assassinated, turned Christian, and committed new murders; but no pigeon brought him an ampulla for his baptism, nor did an angel descend from heaven to present him with a standard.

A monk of Clairvaux might preach a crusade;

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but a man must be more than an idiot to write or believe that God worked miracles by the hand of this monk, in behalf of this crusade, which at the same time proved so unsuccessful.

Louis VIII. of France might die of consumption; but no one except an ignorant fanatic could say that he might have been cured by the embraces of a young maiden, had he not chosen to die a martyr to his chastity.

History is in every nation disfigured by fiction, till the time when philosophy appeared to enlighten mankind; and when she rose on this worse than Egyptian darkness, she found the minds of men so blinded by many ages of error that she could with difficulty undeceive them; she found ceremonies, facts, and monuments established to consecrate falsehoods.

How, for instance, could any philosopher have been able to persuade the common people of Rome, assembled in the temple of Jupiter Stator, that this Jupiter never came down from heaven to stop the flight of the Roman legions? Or, how could he have attempted to deny, in the temple of Castor and Pollux, that these twin brothers had been seen fighting at the head of their armies? Would they not instantly have produced to him the stone on which the print of the feet of those gods was still to be seen? Would not the priests of Jupiter and of Pollux have said to him: "Incredulous wretch, you cannot but confess in beholding a rostral column,

that we have gained a naval victory, of which that column is a monument: acknowledge, therefore, that the gods came down to earth to fight in our behalf; and no longer blaspheme those miracles in presence of the monuments that bear witness to them." Such have, in all ages, been the arguments of imposture and credulity.

A crazy princess builds a chapel in honor of eleven thousand virgins. The priest of this chapel firmly believes that these eleven thousand virgins never had existence; and yet he stirs up the populace to stone the philosopher who disputes it.

Monuments are to be taken as proofs of facts only when those facts, probable in themselves, are transmitted to us by contemporary writers of wisdom and understanding.

The chronicles of the reign of Philip Augustus, and the abbey of La Victoire, are proofs of the battle of Bouvines; but when you see the famous group of Laocoon at Rome, are you from that to believe the fable of the Trojan horse? Or in viewing the hideous statues of a St. Denis, on the road to Paris, will those monuments of ignorance and credulity convince you that St. Denis walked more than a league with his head under his arm after it was cut off?

Most of those monuments that have been erected any length of time after the action they commemorate are at best but proofs of an error consecrated by time; nay, we may sometimes even doubt the

truth of medals that have been struck even at the time of an event; for we have seen the English, deceived by a false piece of news, strike a medal, with these words on the exergue: "Carthagena taken by Admiral Vernon;" and almost the next post brought them an account of that admiral's having raised the siege. If a nation so fruitful in wise and learned men could thus run the hazard of imposing on posterity, what are we to think of nations and times buried in the deepest ignorance?

We may safely credit those events attested by public registers, by the accounts of contemporary authors living in a capital, procuring lights from each other, and writing under the inspection of the principal persons of a nation. But for all those petty, dubious, and romantic facts, related by obscure writers, in the corner of some ignorant and uncivilized province, and those idle tales, filled with the most absurd and improbable circumstances, and with pretended miracles that are the disgrace of history instead of being its ornament, let us rank them with the works of Voragine, Caussin, Maimbourg, and others of their stamp.

It is easy to observe the great change of manners almost throughout the world, from the first irruptions of the barbarians to the present time. The arts, which soften the manners by improving them, began to revive in the twelfth century; but this dawn, being overcast by a cloud of the most absurd and infamous

superstitions, threw everything back into its pristine darkness; and these superstitions, having spread among the ignorant and brutal people of Europe, formed everywhere a mixture of barbarism and folly.

The Arabians civilized and improved Asia, Africa, and a part of Spain, till they were subdued by the Turks, and finally driven out by the Spaniards. Then ignorance took possession of these beautiful regions, and the manners of mankind became gloomy, fierce, and barbarous throughout one-half of our hemisphere.

The popes were, for several centuries, elected only by force of arms; and the people, and even their sovereigns, were so weak that an antipope of their own making was, from the instant of his creation, revered by them as the vicar of God, and infallible. If this infallible personage happened to be deposed, he lost his holiness with his dignity, and his successor inherited the tribute of their adoration. And these earthly deities, who were in their turns either murderers or murdered, poisoners or poisoned; who enriched their bastards with the spoils of states, while they condemned fornication; who fulminated their anathemas against tournaments, while they themselves were carrying on wars with excommunicated and deposed kings, and made the deluded people purchase the remission of their sins, were at once the scandal, the abhorrence, and the gods of the greatest part of Christendom.

You have seen how in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the monks and bishops raised themselves to the sovereign power and dignity, and were everywhere the heads of the feudal government. Here they established the most ridiculous customs, as gross as their own manners; such as the exclusive right of entering the church with a falcon on their hand; the right of employing husbandmen to beat their ponds, that a baron, a monk, or a bishop might not be disturbed by the croaking of the frogs; the right of passing the first night with the newly married wives of their vassals, and the right of levying fines on all traders being aliens — for at that time there were no traders in their own country.

You have also seen these sallies of ignorance and folly blended with the more bloody and fatal ones of religious wars.

Several princes, in endeavoring to release the vassals from the tyranny of their lords, attempted to bring the lords under the same kind of servitude, and this was the occasion of so many civil wars.

Were we to credit several writers, who adapt everything to their own ideas, we should be led to imagine that republican states are more virtuous and happy than the monarchical; but without considering the bloody wars that were so long carried on between the Genoese and Venetians, about the right of trading with the Mahometan nations, what troubles did not the republics of Venice, Genoa,

Florence, and Pisa experience? and how often did the three latter change masters? If Venice preserved her liberty, she is indebted for that happiness wholly to her impassable marshes, called the Lagoons.

It may be asked, how in the midst of so many tumults, internal wars, conspiracies, crimes, and follies, there should have been so many persons who cultivated the useful and liberal arts in Italy, and afterward in the other states of Christendom? The answer is that we have never been under the Turkish yoke.

There must certainly have been something in the manners and genius of the people of this part of Europe which is not to be found either in Thrace, where the Turks have fixed the seat of their empire, nor in Tartary, whence they originally came. There are three things that constantly influence the minds of men: climate, government, and religion. This is the only possible method of explaining this enigma in worldly affairs.

The author of "The Spirit of Laws" says that there are no republican states in Asia; whereas a hundred different hordes of Tartars, and tribes of Arabian freebooters, form so many different wandering republics. Besides, there were formerly in Asia several very flourishing republics, even superior to those of Greece; witness Tyre and Sidon: but we have seen none such since their decline. That great empires of that part of the world have also been

swallowed up, as this same author thinks, is manifest from the prodigious plains found there at present. He asserts that a mountainous country is the most suitable asylum of liberty; but certainly Asia is fully as mountainous as Europe. Poland, which is a republic, is a champaign country. Venice and Holland cannot be said to abound in mountains. Switzerland, which is a free country, is indeed situated in a part of the Alps; but its neighbors who inhabit the other part have ever been in a state of slavery. It is certainly a refinement in reasoning to inquire into the physical causes of governments; but then we should not seek for causes that never had existence.

Although it has in former times been a custom with almost all nations, to sacrifice human victims; yet this custom is far from having been frequent. This effect of barbarous ignorance, abolished in the old world, still continued to subsist in the new. But this detestable ceremony is not to be considered in the light of a religious precept that influenced society; for though the Mexicans sacrificed their prisoners before the altars of their gods, and the Romans strangled theirs, after having dragged them in triumph at their chariot-wheels to the capitol, this was no more than one of the consequences of war, which prevailed equally with both nations, and which, when joined to a religious motive, became one of the most dreadful scourges of humanity. All

I contend for is, that there never was an instance of any religious society or rite being instituted with a view to encourage men to the commission of vice. Religion has, indeed, been made a cloak for wickedness in all parts of the world; but it is everywhere instituted to promote virtue and goodness; and though superstition may have introduced fanaticism and wars, morality teaches universal peace and concord.

From this picture of Europe, from the reign of Charlemagne to the present time, you will easily judge that this part of the world is, without comparison, better peopled, more civilized, more wealthy, and more enlightened than it was in his days; and that it is even superior to what any other part of the Roman Empire was, Italy excepted.

It is a notion worthy only of the facetious author of "Persian Tales," or of the new-fangled paradoxes which we meet with in other writers no less frivolous, though delivered with an air of more gravity, to pretend that Europe is less populous than in the time of the ancient Romans.

If we consider the number of superb cities from St. Petersburg to Madrid, that have been built in what were deserts six centuries ago; or the immense tracts of woods which covered the earth, from the borders of the Danube to the Baltic Sea, and even to the heart of France, it will clearly appear that such an extent of land could not have been cleared

without a great number of hands. Hence let others say what they will, agriculture and commerce have been infinitely more encouraged since the time of the Romans than they were either then or before.

One reason which has in general contributed to keeping up the population of Europe is that in the numberless wars which its several provinces have experienced, the conquered people have never been carried away out of their own country by the victors.

Charlemagne did indeed depopulate the banks of the Weser, but this small spot was soon supplied again with inhabitants. The Turks carried away many Hungarian and Dalmatian families, out of their own country, and accordingly we find those countries, at present, but thinly peopled. Poland is also badly inhabited, but that is owing to the common people being still held in a state of slavery.

In what a flourishing condition, then, would Europe have been at this time, had it not been for the continual wars by which it has been rent on the slightest pretexts, and very often through mere whim and caprice? To what a degree of perfection would agriculture have attained, and how much more comfort and assistance would those arts which prepare the produce of the earth for our use have afforded us, had not such an astonishing number of persons, of both sexes, been doomed to pass their lives in useless retirement, within the walls of cloisters! An improvement in humanity, which has been introduced amidst the scourge of war, and thus soft-

ened its horrors, has at the same time contributed not a little to save the common people from that destruction with which they were almost continually threatened. The great number of military forces which are continually maintained by all crowned heads is doubtless a great evil in society; but, at the same time, as I have before observed, this very evil is productive of a good. The common people now leave the trade of war to their masters, without intermeddling therewith themselves. The inhabitants of a besieged town pass frequently from the service of one power to that of another, without a single life being lost on the occasion, and they quietly become the property of him who has the strongest army, the best artillery, and the most money.

Germany, France and England were for a long time laid waste by civil wars, but these disasters were soon repaired, and the present flourishing state of these countries shows that the industry of mankind has even far exceeded their rage and fury. It is not the same with Persia, for that country has, for more than forty years, been a prey to the most shocking devastations; but if happily she should be gathered together, under the rule of a wise and good prince, she may recover herself in far less time than has been taken in ruining her.

When a nation has an acquaintance with the arts, and its inhabitants are not absolutely enslaved, or carried away by a foreign conqueror, that nation will rise from its ruins, and regain its strength.



HENRY TAYLOR JR. NO.
EN. 1852.

MADAME DU BARRY



VOLTAIRE

HISTORY OF THE WAR OF 1741

VOL. XVI—PART II

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HISTORY OF THE WAR OF 1741.

CHAPTER I.

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN EUROPE, AND A BRIEF REVIEW OF MATTERS PRIOR TO THE WAR OF 1741.

I HAVE always looked upon the Christian powers of Europe as one great republic, all whose parts correspond with one another, even when they aim at their mutual destruction. Certain customs, which we call the laws of war, laws unknown to other nations, have been established by general consent. The precedence of almost all princes has been settled; the Catholics have two cities in common; one of these is Malta, the centre of a perpetual war waged against the enemies of the Christian name; the other is Rome, which in more respects than one is the capital of all the Catholic nations, each of which has a right to name one of the sovereign's principal ministers; and their ecclesiastical, and even temporal causes are tried by the tribunal of the Rota, the judges composing which are taken from each nation. The sovereigns, in all the Catholic frontiers, have some territories that are under the jurisdiction of a foreign bishop. Nothing is more common than to see the prerogatives, honors, and

orders of knighthood of one country conferred upon the natives of another. Most princes have territories lying in the middle of other states; as for example, the pope is possessed of Avignon in France, and of Benevento in the kingdom of Naples; the Venetians have dominions in the heart of the Milanese. There is scarcely a prince in Germany but has some dominions enclosed by the territory of another sovereign.

The old Roman law is in full force in all these countries: they have all one and the same learned language; and every court speaks the same living tongue — the French, which is used in every court of Europe but our own. These connections have been further strengthened by commerce. The merchants carry on so close a correspondence, even in time of war, that at the very time in which the English were arming to ruin the Spaniards, they were deeply interested in the trade of that nation; so that when their privateers seized upon an enemy's ship, they were absolutely plundering their own countrymen. In effect, the wars waged against each other by Christian princes have in them so much of the nature of civil wars, that in the year 1701, Victor, duke of Savoy, was in arms against his two sons-in-law: the prince of Vaudemont commanded the Spaniards in the Milanese, and was nearly made prisoner by his own son, who had followed the fortune of the house of Austria.

In the year 1718, when the duke of Orleans, re-

gent of France, carried on a war against his cousin, Philip V. of Spain, the duke of Liria served against his father, the duke of Berwick. In the war, the history of which I now write, the kings of France, Spain, and Poland, and the elector of Bavaria were the nearest akin to the queen of Hungary, whom they attacked; and upon that very tie of relationship the last of these princes set up a claim to plunder her. We have seen, in the course of this war, Francis, great duke of Tuscany, and now emperor of Germany, keep an envoy at Paris, whose children served against him; and we have seen all the sons of the Tuscan prime minister in our service. We had a thousand examples of this kind before our eyes, and yet they did not surprise us.

All the sovereigns of the different states of this part of the world are allied either by blood or by treaty; and yet they scarcely conclude a marriage or a treaty that is not the cause of some future disagreement.

Commerce, whereby they are necessarily linked, is almost always the occasion of their dissenting. The two subjects on which to ground a war are everywhere else unknown; nowhere but in Europe is a wife known to bring to her husband a war for her dower, by setting up a right to some distant province. No act of confraternity is known among princes; nor a reversion from one family to another no way related to it; nor yet small fiefs paying homage at the same time to several great princes,

who are disputing about the homage and fief itself among one another, as happens so often in Germany and Italy. Hence it is that Asia is almost always in a pacific state, if we except the invasions of conquerors, who are in that part of the world yet more cruel than in Europe, and the unavoidable quarrels, more especially among the Turks and Persians, about frontiers.

Those who accurately and nicely examine into the capital events of this world will easily remark that, since the year 1600, there have been forty considerable wars in Europe, and but one of any consequence in Great Tartary, China, and the Indies, countries of immense extent, better peopled, and much richer. In a word, there has been no war on account of trade in Asia, Africa, or America, but has been kindled by the Europeans.

The marriage of Maximilian I., afterwards emperor of Germany, with Mary of Burgundy, had been for three ages the occasion of a perpetual difference between France and Austria. The American and Asiatic trade was afterwards fresh ground for discord in Europe. The system of the balance of power in Europe, which is at present the cause and pretext of so many leagues and wars, first made its appearance during the disputes between Charles V. and Francis I.

Henry VIII., king of England, who, seeing himself between two potent rivals, labored to prevent each from acquiring a superiority, took for his

device an archer, with his bow bent, and this motto: "Whom I defend shall be my master;" but if Henry held the balance, it was with an unsteady hand.

Henry IV. of France, oppressed by the house of Austria, was constantly aided by Queen Elizabeth, and the states of Holland owed their liberty to the protection of these two princes. So long as these three powers dreaded the superiority of the house of Austria, England and Holland continued to be constant allies of France. If this union was now and then weakened, it was never totally destroyed, their real interests being so very apparent.

The Protestant states of Germany were also the natural friends of France, for ever since the time of Charles V. they had reason to fear that the house of Austria might make a patrimony of the empire, and consequently oppress them. The Swedes were invited into Germany by them, by France, nay, even by Rome itself, which stood in awe of the imperial authority, always disputed, and always prevailing in Italy. About the middle of the last century, England and Holland with pleasure beheld the imperial branch of the house of Austria obliged to give up Lusacia to the electors of Saxony, the prefecture of Alsace to France by the Treaty of Münster, and Roussillon taken by force of arms from the Spanish branch of that house by Louis XIII.

Cromwell the usurper did not oppose this alliance; for he remained firm to the French interest, though he had murdered the brother-in-law of Louis

XIII., and the uncle of Louis the Great. Everybody almost wished France success against the Austrians, until Louis XIV. became formidable from his conquests, which he owed to his having chosen the greatest generals and most able ministers of his time, as well as to the weakness of his enemies.

In 1667, he deprived the house of Austria of one-half of Flanders, and of Franche-Comté the following year. It was now that the Dutch, becoming of some consequence from their courage in war, and their industry in trade, no longer dreaded their old masters, the Austrians, and began to entertain some fears of their ancient protectors, the French. They compelled Louis XIV., by dint of their negotiations, to accede to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and boasted of their success.

This was the first occasion of that monarch's sudden invasion of Holland in 1672, in which project he easily induced Charles II., king of England, to concur; who not only wanted money, but had also some grounds of complaint against Holland. He preferred the chastisement of the Dutch to the conquest of Flanders, which he might perhaps have kept, as he had some claims on that territory; but England and Holland were soon after reunited, and ever since always opposed the French interest. The glory and power of Louis XIV. increased, and so in proportion did the number of his enemies.

The same system of the balance of power so long opposed against the Austrians was now turned

against the French. Ever since 1689, William III., king of England and stadtholder of Holland, had been the soul of a party which conspired against France, Spain, Germany, England, Holland, and Savoy; nay even Pope Innocent XI. Louis the Great supported himself against all these enemies. He had, for a long time, nearly four hundred thousand men in arms, and upwards of one hundred ships of the line; of which, when he came to the throne, he had only six; and though his marine received such a violent shock at La Hogue, in 1792, and the India company, which had been established by the celebrated Colbert, was destroyed; yet he made a peace at Ryswick, neither shameful nor unprofitable. The system of general equilibrium, composed of so many particular views, produced this peace, and engendered a scheme of politics unheard of before.

The last prince of the Austrian branch, who now sat on the Spanish throne, had no children, and was in bad health. The courts of London and The Hague entered into a compact with Louis XIV., whom they did not love, whereby, in conjunction with him, they disposed of the Spanish dominions. These were shared among several powers, and a part given to Louis, for fear he should have put himself in a condition to seize the whole. Charles II., king of Spain, resenting such an insult upon his weakness as that of dividing his estate even while he lived, named the

son of the elector of Bavaria as his heir. This child was a grandson of Philip III.

The choice appeared just and prudent; the house of Austria might murmur, but had it not in its power to avenge itself. The dissensions which must have inevitably followed from the partition, were now no longer to be feared; and the equilibrium of Europe was preserved: but this young prince died three months after his being declared heir to the Spanish succession.

A second partition treaty was then set on foot, whereby the Milanese was given to the house of Lorraine, and the latter territory ceded to France, part of which project we have seen carried into execution.

The king of Spain, feeling himself drawing near his end, though in the flower of his age, proposed to leave his crown to the archduke Charles, his wife's nephew, second son of the emperor Leopold. So strongly did the system of equilibrium predominate, that he did not dare to leave his dominions to the eldest son, being certain that the fear of seeing Spain, the Indies, the empire, Hungary, Bohemia, and Lombardy united under one prince would raise the rest of Europe in arms. He requested the emperor Leopold to send his second son, Charles, to Madrid, at the head of ten thousand men; but this proceeding neither France, England, Holland, nor Italy would have allowed, being all for the partition. It happened, in these affairs of the utmost

importance to the interest of two great kings, as it often does on very slight occasions in private life; they had words, and came to an open rupture. The German pride could not digest the Spanish haughtiness; the countess of Pelitz, who governed the queen of Spain, alienated, instead of securing, the affections of the people, whom she should have attached to her side; and they were still more disgusted by the arrogance of the court of Vienna.

The young archduke commonly spoke of the Spaniards in a very disrespectful manner; and thence was taught, that princes should be very cautious how they expressed themselves. His speeches were transmitted to Madrid, not without rancor, by the bishop of Lerida, ambassador from Spain to the court of Vienna, who was disgusted with the Germans. He wrote invectives against the Austrian councils much more bitter than ever the archduke had thrown out against the Spaniards. "The disposition of Leopold's ministers," says he in one of his letters, "resembles the horns of the bulls in my country; they are little, hard, and crooked." This letter was made public; the bishop was recalled, and, on his return to Madrid, increased more than ever the aversion of the Spaniards against the Germans. Many trifling matters, for such will always intermingle themselves among the most important affairs, contributed to bring about the great change which happened in Europe, and made way for that

revolution whereby Spain and the Indies was forever lost to the house of Austria.

Cardinal Portocarero, and the rest of the Spanish grandees, who were most in favor at court, united to prevent the dismembering of the Spanish monarchy, and persuaded Charles II. to prefer a grandson of Louis XIV. to a prince very distant from, and incapable of defending, them. This disposition was not annulling the solemn renunciation of the crown of Spain, which had been made by the mother and wife of Louis XIV., because it had been made only to prevent the two kingdoms from being united under their eldest born, who was not now selected. Thus justice was done to the rights of blood, at the same time that the Spanish monarchy was preserved entire.

The king, who was a scrupulous man, consulted the best divines, and they agreed in opinion with his council. At length, infirm as he was, he wrote to Pope Innocent XII., stating the case, and asking his advice. The pope, who imagined he saw the liberty of Italy established in proportion as the house of Austria was weakened, advised him in his answer to give the preference to the house of France. The pope's letter was dated July 16, 1700. He wisely treated the king's case of conscience as a matter of state, while the king himself, who with good reason was desirous of having justice on his side, treated this very important matter of state as a case of conscience.

Louis XIV. had notice of this step; the court of Versailles had no other share in this memorable event; there was not then even a French ambassador at Madrid; for Marshal d'Harcourt had been recalled six months before, his longer continuance there being disagreeable, because of the partition treaty, which France seemed ready to support by force of arms. All Europe was mistaken in supposing this treaty dictated at the court of Versailles. The expiring monarch had consulted only the interest of his kingdom and the desires of his subjects. This will, which caused such an alteration in the affairs of Europe, was kept so secret that Count Harrach, the imperial ambassador, still flattered himself that the archduke was the declared successor, and awaited quite a while the issue of the council assembled immediately after the king's death, before he was undeceived.

The duke d'Abrantes approached him with open arms; the ambassador no longer doubted of the archduke's being a king, until he heard the duke d'Abrantes, as he embraced him, express himself thus: "I come from taking leave of the house of Austria."

Thus, after two hundred years spent in war and negotiations about some frontiers of the Spanish dominions, France saw herself, by a stroke of a pen, put into possession of the whole monarchy, without treaty or cabal, nay, without so much as having hoped for that succession. It has been in some meas-

ure the custom thus to publish here the plain truth of a fact hitherto misrepresented by statesmen or historians, according as prejudices or appearances misled them. That which has in so many volumes been set forth of the sums of money lavished by Marshal d'Harcourt, and his bribing the Spanish ministers to come at the will, must be ranked among political lies and popular errors. The minister then at the head of foreign affairs in France has given an authentic attestation of this truth under his own hand; but the king of Spain, in choosing for his successor the grandson of a king who had been so long his enemy, had plainly employed his thoughts on the consequences which the idea of a general equilibrium must necessarily excite.

The duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., had been called to the succession of Spain only because there seemed to be no hope of his ever rising to the throne of France; and the same will which, in case of the failure of princes of the blood of Louis XIV., bequeathed the crown to the archduke Charles, afterward emperor by the name of Charles VI., expressly stipulates that the empire and Spain should never be reunited under the same sovereign.

That branch of the house of Austria which sat on the imperial throne, seeing itself deprived of the Spanish succession, except as a substitute, raised almost all Europe in arms against the house of Bourbon. That very Leopold who neither would nor could send ten thousand men into Spain to secure

the throne to his son, the archduke, soon brought a hundred thousand into the field. The duke of Savoy, father-in-law of the duke of Burgundy and of the king of Spain, shortly afterward entered into a confederacy against his sons-in-law. England and Holland, which had declared for the archduke, sustained the chief burden of this long war, until at length that equilibrium which had been a pretext for so many disputes, became itself the basis of a peace. The very thing happened which had been foreseen by Charles II. The archduke, to whom the Spanish monarchy had been provisionally left, and for whom a bloody war had been kindled, became emperor in 1711, by the death of his elder brother, Joseph. That faction which in England was called Tory, and which opposed the Whig administration, made use of this opportunity to dispose Queen Anne to lavish no more blood and treasure of the English in a cause whereby the emperor Charles VI. must acquire more power than ever had been vested in the hands of Charles VI., and by a continuance, in which she also acted in direct opposition to the views and real interest of England, as well as the rest of Europe, which had been apprehensive of seeing Spain and the empire united under the same crowned head. But an incident from which such important consequences could never have been expected contributed more than anything else to bring about the great work of peace.

One of the chief causes of the will of Charles II.

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had been the haughtiness of a German lady. The peace of Europe was owing to the insolence with which an English lady treated Queen Anne. The duchess of Marlborough put the queen into a violent passion; so that she lost all patience, and the Tories turned the affair to their own advantage. The queen changed her ministers and her measures. England, after being so long the bitter enemy of France, was the first to conclude a peace with her — at Utrecht: and soon afterward that very useful victory obtained by Marshal Villars, at Denain, in the neighborhood of Landrecy, determined the states of Holland and the emperor Charles VI. to make a general peace.

Louis XIV., after being persecuted for ten years by evil fortune, after having been reduced in 1710 to such distress that he was forced to abandon the support of his grandson, and having had the mortification to find himself not attended to, unless he joined with the allies against his own blood, had yet at length the satisfaction to see his grandson firmly settled upon the throne of Spain.

But there was a necessity for dividing this monarchy, which had been given to Philip V. only in hope that it might not be dismembered. By the treaties of Rastatt and Baden, made in 1714, the emperor was to keep all the Austrian Netherlands, with the duchy of Milan and kingdom of Naples, in spite of that ancient law which provides that this kingdom shall never be held with the empire. Charles V. had submitted to this law in receiving the investi-

ture of Naples from the pope, before he had assumed the imperial crown. But this powerful vassal of the pope found not much difficulty in obtaining a release from his oath; and Charles VI., afterward experienced as much civility from the court of Rome as Charles V. had done.

Sicily, another branch which had been lopped from the Spanish monarchy, was then bequeathed to the duke of Savoy, who had afterward Sardinia in exchange for it. At length Minorca and Gibraltar, having been taken by the English, remained to that nation. By this peace the king of Prussia was put in possession of the Upper Guelderland. The Dutch acquired for their barrier Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, Ypres, Dendermonde, etc. The emperor, besides ceding to them the defence of these places, paid them annually two million five hundred thousand livres; a convention scarcely to be paralleled in history, that a sovereign should give up his strong towns and his money to his allies, instead of garrisoning the places with his troops.

The elector of Bavaria, father of him who was afterward emperor under the name of Charles VII., and his brother, the elector of Cologne, were reinstated in their principalities and rights, which they had lost by siding with France, and being unfortunate. The emperor Joseph had, of his own authority, and independent of the consent of the three colleges, put them under the ban of the empire. Thus vast advantages were acquired by all the potentates.

The principal one, and yet it was not sufficiently respected, was the preservation of mankind. A hundred thousand men at least must have been annually sacrificed in the course of a war wherein six hundred thousand men were constantly in arms on both sides in Italy, Spain, Germany, and Flanders. It is an undoubted truth that in ten years' time the southern parts of Europe had lost above one million men in the flower of their age.

The twenty years which followed the Peace of Utrecht enabled each nation to repair its losses; a happy series of years, the felicity of which met with very slight interruption. England increased her trade by the cession made to her by France, of Newfoundland and Acadia, also by the Assiento contract, which put her in possession of the negro trade in Spanish America, and, in fine, by the liberty which she extorted from Spain of annually sending a ship to Porto Bello, whereby she carried on an immense contraband trade.

France had above eighteen hundred merchant ships employed in 1740; whereas at the time of the Treaty of Utrecht, she had not more than three hundred. Her trade and manufactures flourished. A new East India company arose out of the ruins of a system of finances which in 1719 had impoverished one part of the nation and enriched the other; and in 1725 it advanced to the government ten millions of livres, and was possessed of thirty-nine millions in ships, storehouses, and merchantable goods. This

company rebuilt and enlarged the town of Pondicherry, which is at present inhabited by a hundred thousand people, regularly fortified, and defended by four hundred and fifty pieces of canon. They caused the harbor of Port l'Orient in Brittany to be cleansed, and raised the place from a small village to a trading town. They were possessed of sixty ships, from four hundred to eight hundred tons. In fine, during the space of twenty-eight years they had been establishing a nursery for seamen, and a source of continual abundance; for while all the stock proprietors received a considerable interest from the cultivation of tobacco, all the profits of the company were expended in making new establishments. They could be charged with nothing but superfluous expenses, which are strong proofs of wealth. The commerce of the French colonies alone produced a circulation of one hundred millions, and enriched the commonwealth by the commodities transported from one hemisphere to the other. Since the year 1712, some of these colonies have increased double.

Almost every town in France was embellished, and the whole kingdom was apparently more populous, having, during this long era, received no disturbance from foreign wars. The falling out between the duke of Orleans, then regent, and Spain, in 1718, was of but short duration, nor was it attended with unfortunate consequences. It was not a quarrel between nation and nation, but between two princes; in Paris it was hardly noticed; the people

there attended to nothing but the great game of stocks, which made and undid so many great fortunes.

The views of Spain were to recover the provinces which had been rent from her formerly; and this was not a time for her to make the attempt. It was in vain that her troops made a descent upon the island of Sardinia, which then belonged to the emperor, and afterward upon Sicily, of which the duke of Savoy had been put in possession by the Peace of Utrecht. All the fruit of these armaments was that the emperor Charles VI., assisted by an English squadron, and aided even by the regent of France, seized upon Sicily for himself, though by the Peace of Utrecht it had been ceded to the house of Savoy, the princes of which, after having been four years kings of Sicily, became kings of Sardinia, which they still hold.

Never at any time were so many negotiations on foot as now; never so many treaties; nor so many jealousies. The interest of each nation seemed to change with that of individuals. The English government, which had been closely united with that ministry which during the reign of Louis XIV. had done everything to fix Philip V. upon the throne of Spain, now changed sides: matters went so far from following their natural channel that the court of Madrid flung herself into the arms of her rival and enemy, the court of Vienna, who had so long con-

tested with her the sovereignty of Naples and lately deprived her of the island of Sicily.

In short, this very emperor Charles VI., whose firm intention was always to prevent the new house of Spain from having any footing in Italy, was so far prevailed upon, though of a different inclination, as to consent that a son of Philip V. and of his second wife, Elizabeth of Parma, should be introduced, with six thousand Spaniards, into the duchies of Parma and Placentia, though the succession was not as yet open; he also gave the eventual investiture of it, as well as that of the great dukedom of Tuscany, by a solemn treaty, which had been long upon the carpet, in 1725, to Don Carlos; and he received two hundred thousand Spanish pistoles, by way of purchase for an engagement which was one day to cost him so dear. All the proceedings of this agreement were surprising: two rival houses were united without any confidence in each other. The English, after having done all in their power to dethrone Philip V. and dispossessed him of Gibraltar and Minorca, which in spite of Spain they still keep, were the mediators of this peace. It was signed by Ripperda, a Dutchman, who was then all-powerful in Spain, and who was disgraced after having signed it.

While the Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon thus increased her dominions by a transient union with her enemy, she had a misunderstanding with the French branch, in spite of the ties of blood and interest whereby they should sooner or later

have been reunited. It was thus the two branches of the house of Austria had been formerly divided. France, having at that time joined with England, had no real allies; but in the year 1727 things began to move in their natural channel. The French ministry strengthened the bonds of friendship subsisting between the two houses of France; and that ministry appearing altogether equitable and disinterested, became insensibly the mediators of Europe.

A war broke out between England and Spain, occasioned by a commercial dispute. The Spaniards laid siege to Gibraltar, before which town they wasted their time and their forces, for the English had rendered it impregnable. France was the mediatrix; she saved the honor of the Spaniards by prevailing on them to raise the siege, and reconciling the disputing parties by treaty.

The emperor would have eluded the promise he had made of ceding Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia to Don Carlos. The French ministry engaged him to keep his word: they also artfully prevailed upon the English, though avowed enemies to the grandeur of the house of Bourbon, to transport six thousand Spaniards into Italy, thereby to secure to Don Carlos his new territory; and, in fine, that prince was shortly after conveyed thither, together with his troops, by an English fleet. In 1731 he was acknowledged sovereign of Parma, and heir to the dukedom of Tuscany. The great duke of Florence, the last of the Medici family, accepted an heir, which had

been given him without his having been once consulted.

Some time before, the French ministry had determined the emperor in his resolution of suppressing the East India Company, which had been established at Ostend. It was the interest of all trading nations, whereof France was not then the least considerable. She enjoyed the serene glory of making up all differences between her neighbors, when the death of Augustus II., king of Poland, gave a total change to the affairs of Europe. Cardinal Fleury, then nearly fourscore years of age, made it his whole study to preserve this happy peace to France, and to all Europe. His turn of mind, his character, his time of life, and his glory, which was founded in moderation, all rendered him averse to war. Walpole, the prime minister of England, was exactly of the same way of thinking: Spain was possessed of all she had required. The North was in profound peace, when the death of Augustus II., king of Poland, replunged Europe into that series of misfortunes from which she is rarely exempt for ten years together.

King Stanislaus, father-in-law of Louis XV., already nominated to the crown of Poland in 1704, had been chosen in the most legal and solemn manner; but the emperor Charles VI. obliged the states to proceed to another election, which was supported by the Imperial and Russian arms. The son of the late king of Poland, elector of Saxony, and nephew

of Charles VI., carried it from his competitor. Thus the house of Austria, which had found itself unable to keep Spain and the West Indies, was yet sufficiently strong to wrest Poland from the father-in-law of Louis XV. France saw the same accident repeated which had happened to Prince Armand de Conti, who though solemnly elected, yet being without money and troops, and little better recommended than supported, lost that kingdom, to which he had been called by the voice of the people. King Stanislaus went to Dantzic to support his election; but the majority by whom he had been chosen soon allowed themselves to be borne down by the minority that were against him. This country, where the people are enslaved; where the nobility sell their votes; where there is never money enough in the public treasury to maintain an army; where the laws are without vigor; where their liberty is only productive of divisions; this same country, I say, boasts in vain their warlike nobility, who can bring into the field one hundred thousand men.

Ten thousand men soon dispersed the partisans of Stanislaus. The kingdom of Poland, which in the preceding age looked upon the Russians with contempt, were now intimidated and directed by them. The empire of Russia had become formidable since it had been remodelled by Peter the Great. Ten thousand disciplined slaves of Russia made the Polish nobility disappear; and Stanislaus, having taken refuge in the city of Dantzic, was quickly besieged

by forty thousand Russians: the emperor of Germany, united with Russia, thought himself certain of success. To preserve the balance of power, France should have sent thither a numerous army by sea; but England could not, without taking part, have tamely looked on amidst such immense preparations. Cardinal Fleury, willing to keep well with that crown, did not choose to have the shame of entirely abandoning the cause of Stanislaus, nor yet did he incline to hazard any large number of troops in his defence. He therefore fitted out a squadron, on board of which were embarked fifteen hundred men commanded by a brigadier. This officer did not look upon his commission in a serious light; so that, judging, as he approached Dantzic, that he should only sacrifice his little army, without reaping any advantage, he retired into Denmark.

Count de Plelo, ambassador from France to the king of Denmark, beheld with indignation a retreat which seemed so mortifying to the nation. He was a young man, well versed in polite learning and philosophy, inspired with sentiments of a heroic nature, and deserving of a better fate. He resolved to succor Dantzic with this small force against a powerful army, or to die in the attempt. Before he embarked, he wrote a letter to Count de Maurepas, the minister of state, which concluded thus: "I am certain I shall never return; to you I recommend my wife and children." He arrived before Dantzic, landed his men, and attacked the Russian army. He

fell in the field, as he had predicted, covered with wounds; and those of his followers that were not killed were made prisoners of war. His letter, which was very affecting, and the account of his death, reached Paris together. It drew tears from the eyes of the whole council: he was unanimously admired and lamented. I remember, some time after, when his widow appeared with her children in the public walks, the multitude gathered round with acclamations of tenderness, fully expressive of the veneration in which they held his memory.

Dantzic was taken: the ambassador from France and Poland, who was then in the place, was made prisoner of war, without any respect being paid to the privileges of his character. King Stanislaus escaped, but not without infinite danger, and by means of more disguises than one; after having seen a price set by the Muscovite general upon his head, in a free country, of which he was a native, and in the heart of a nation to the rule of which he had been every way legally elected.

The French ministry had totally lost that reputation so necessary to the support of grandeur, had they not avenged such an insult; but that insult would have been ill-timed, if not advantageous. Their distance from each other prevented the Muscovites from feeling the indignation of France; and policy directed it should be turned against the emperor, which was effectually done in Germany and Italy.

France entered into alliance with Spain and Sardinia. These three powers had different interests, but all united in the one point of weakening the house of Austria. The dukes of Savoy had been a long time increasing their dominions by slow degrees; sometimes by hiring troops to the emperors, and sometimes by declaring against them. King Charles Emanuel had his eye upon the Milanese, and it had been promised him by the ministries of Versailles and of Madrid. Philip V. of Spain, or, more properly speaking, his spouse, Elizabeth of Parma, had hoped for some better establishment for her children than Parma and Placentia. The king of France had no advantage in view but his own glory, the humbling of his enemies, and the triumph of his allies. Nobody then foresaw that Lorraine would be the fruit of this war. We are almost always guided by events, whereof we seldom have the direction. Never was any negotiation brought to so quick a conclusion as that which united these three monarchs. England and Holland, which had been generally accustomed to side with Austria against France, forsook her upon this occasion. This was the effect of that character for equity and moderation which the court of France had acquired. It was owing to the notion conceived by her natural enemies, that her views were purely pacific and free from all ambitious views, that they kept quiet, even while she was at war. Nothing could have done more honor to Cardinal Fleury than his being able to

persuade the different powers that France might wage war against the emperor without endangering the liberties of Europe: therefore they looked quietly upon the rapid success of the French arms. They were masters of the Rhine, and conjunctively with Spain and Savoy ruled in Italy, where Marshal Villars died at the age of eighty-four, after having taken Milan. His successor, Marshal Coigni, obtained two victories, while the Spanish general, the duke de Montemar, gained a battle at Bitonto in the kingdom of Naples, whence he acquired a new surname. Don Carlos, who had been acknowledged heir to Tuscany, was soon declared king of Naples. Thus did the emperor lose almost all Italy by having given a king to Poland; and a son of the king of Spain was in two campaigns secured in possession of the two Sicilies; kingdoms which had been so often taken and retaken, and which, for two centuries past, had been always claimed by the house of Austria.

This war in Italy is the only one which was terminated with any solid success to the French since the time of Charlemagne. There was this reason for it: the guardian of the Alps, now become the most powerful prince in these territories, was on their side: they were assisted by the best troops in the service of the crown of Spain, and their armies were always well supplied. The emperor was then glad to subscribe to such terms of peace as were offered him by victorious France. Cardinal Fleury, who had wisdom enough to prevent England and Hol-

land from taking part in the war, had also the satisfaction of seeing it brought to a happy issue without their interposition.

By this peace Don Carlos was acknowledged king of Naples and the two Sicilies. Europe had been long accustomed to see kingdoms given away and exchanged. The inheritance of the house of Medici, which had been formerly awarded to Don Carlos, was now made over to Francis, duke of Lorraine, the emperor's intended son-in-law. The last grand duke of Tuscany asked, upon his death-bed, if they did not intend him a third heir; and what child it pleased the empire and France to make for him. Not that the grand duchy of Tuscany looked upon itself as a fief of the empire; but the emperor regarded it as such, as well as Parma and Placentia, which had been always claimed by the holy see, to which the last duke of Parma had paid homage; so much do the rights of princes change with the times. By this peace the duchies of Parma and Placentia, which were the birthright of Don Carlos, son of Philip V. and a princess of Parma, were yielded as his property to the emperor Charles VI.

The king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, who had laid his account in having the Milanese, to which his family, which had gradually aggrandized itself, had some old pretensions, obtained only a small share of it—the Novarese, the Tortonese, and the fiefs of Langhes; he derived his claim to this dukedom from a daughter of Philip II., king of Spain, his

ancestor. France had also some old pretensions descended to them from Louis XII., the natural heir of the duchy. Philip V. likewise had his claims founded upon the enfeoffments renewed to four kings of Spain, his predecessors; but these pretensions yielded to convenience and public advantage. The emperor kept possession of the Milanese, notwithstanding the general law of the fiefs of the empire, which enjoins that the emperor should always grant the investiture of them, as lord paramount; otherwise he might, in process of time, swallow up all the feudal dependencies of his crown.

By this treaty King Stanislaus renounced the kingdom to which he had been twice elected, and in the possession of which his friends could not preserve him. He retained the title of king; but he wanted a more solid indemnity; an indemnity more advantageous to France than to himself. Cardinal Fleury seemed at that time contented with the duchy of Bar, which was yielded to Stanislaus by the duke of Lorraine, and the reversion to the crown of France; but the then reigning duke of Lorraine was not to yield up his duchy till put in full possession of Tuscany. Thus the giving up of Lorraine depended upon many casualties; and very little profit arose from the greatest success and most favorable conjunctures. The cardinal was encouraged to make his own use of these advantages: he demanded Lorraine upon the same terms with the duchy of Bar, and he obtained it; it only cost him a little ready

money, and a pension of four million five hundred thousand livres granted to Francis until the duchy of Tuscany should devolve to him. Thus the reunion of Lorraine with France, which had before been so often tried in vain, was irrecoverably completed. By this proceeding a Polish king was transplanted into Lorraine, the reigning dukes of Lorraine were removed into Tuscany, and a second son of Spain mounted the throne of Naples. The medal of Trajan thus inscribed, "*Regna assignata*," "kingdoms disposed of," might have been renewed by France.

The emperor Charles VI. thought he had gained considerably by this treaty: he had been laboring ever since the year 1713 to engage all the states of the empire, and the princes, his neighbors, to guarantee the indivisible possession of his hereditary dominions to his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, who had been married to the duke of Lorraine, grand duke of Tuscany, in 1736. The emperor hoped to see his almost expiring race revived in the person of his eldest daughter's son, which son might preserve the patrimony of the house of Austria, and rejoin it to the empire. With this view he had contributed to raise the elector of Saxony, who had married one of his nieces, to the throne of Poland by force of arms; and procured the guaranty of that famous act of succession, entitled "The Caroline Pragmatic Sanction." It was guaranteed by England, Holland, Russia, Denmark, and the states of the empire; he even flattered himself that he should obtain an equiv-

alent to a formal acceptance from the elector of Bavaria, which elector was on that account to intermarry with his niece, daughter of the emperor Joseph. In short, he thought he had secured everything, when he had obtained the guaranty of France; although Prince Eugene, a little before his death, had told him he should have an army of two hundred thousand soldiers, and no guaranty.

He pressed the French ministry, however, to assure, by treaty, the order established in the Austrian succession; and they consented. The elector of Bavaria, who imagined he had lawful claims upon the Austrian succession, in prejudice to the daughters of Charles VI., also entreated the protection of the court of France, which was at that time of sufficient weight to settle all their rights. That ministry, in 1737, gave the emperor to understand that by this guaranty nothing was intended that could injure the pretensions of the house of Bavaria; and they reminded him, that in 1732, when he prevailed upon the states of the empire to accede to this Pragmatic Sanction, he had formally declared he would not prejudice the rights of any person whatever. They entreated him to do justice to the house of Bavaria, and their remonstrances were for that time made in secret. Those sparks, which were so soon to cause a most dreadful combustion, were now concealed beneath the embers.

All the princes of Christendom were at peace, if we except the disputes just kindling between Spain

and England about their American commerce. The court of France was still looked upon as the general arbitrator of Europe.

The emperor, without consulting the empire, made war upon the Turks. It was unfortunate for him; but the mediation of France saved him on the very brink of the precipice to which he had been driven. M. Villeneuve, her ambassador to the Porte, went to Hungary, and in 1739 concluded a peace with the grand vizier, of which his imperial majesty stood in much need.

Almost at the same time France restored peace to the republic of Genoa, menaced with a civil war: she likewise subdued and tempered the Corsicans, who had thrown off the Genoese yoke. The island of Corsica, which had long since assumed the title of a kingdom, had submitted, about the end of the thirteenth century, to the Genoese; a richer people, but less warlike. The Corsicans, who were always intractable, were now in open rebellion, under pretence of their being oppressed: their last insurrection had continued ever since 1725. A German, a native of the county of Marck, called Theodore de Neuhoff, having travelled all over Europe in search of adventures, chanced to be at Leghorn in 1736: he held a correspondence with the malcontents, and offered them his service. Being employed by them for that purpose, he embarked for Tunis, and returned to Corsica with a reinforcement of arms, ammunition, and money; whereupon he was declared

king; he was crowned with a laurel wreath, acknowledged by the whole island, and carried on the war. The Genoese senate set a price upon his head; but being neither able to procure his assassination, nor yet to reduce the Corsicans, implored the emperor's protection. As this appeared a dangerous step, because the emperor, looking upon himself as lord paramount of Italy, would have set himself up as supreme judge between Genoa and the rebels, the senate had then recourse to France, who sent into that island successively Count de Boissieux, and the marquis de Maillebois, afterward a marshal of France. Theodore was driven out of the island, the malcontents quieted, at least for awhile, and all things were peaceably settled.

While France was interposing her good offices between the Genoese and Corsicans, she was doing the same for Spain and England, who were just embarking in a sea war, much more destructive than the claims about which they had quarrelled were valuable. In 1735, France had employed herself in settling the disputes between Spain and Portugal; none of her neighbors had any right to complain of her; all nations looked upon her as their *mediatrix* and common parent.

CHAPTER II.

CHARLES VI. DIES: FOUR POWERS DISPUTE FOR THE SUCCESSION—THE QUEEN OF HUNGARY ACKNOWLEDGED IN HER HEREDITARY DOMINIONS — SILESIA SEIZED BY THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

IN the month of October, 1740, Emperor Charles VI. died, at the age of fifty-five. It is necessary for princes, as the peace of their dominions depends upon their respective lives, to know that this monarch's death was occasioned by overeating himself at an entertainment. It was accident that brought him to the grave, and reduced the empire to the brink of destruction. As the death of the king of Poland, Augustus II., had caused great disturbances, it is evident that that of Charles VI., the last prince of the house of Austria, must have produced far greater revolutions. In the first place, Italy expected to become independent, a condition to which it had long aspired. Several principalities, which were looked upon as fiefs of the empire, disclaimed this subjection. Rome especially, plundered by Charles V., severely treated by his successors, oppressed and fleeced by Joseph, brother of Charles VI., now flattered herself with the hope of being delivered from the pretensions of the German emperors, who, ever since Otho I., have imagined themselves successors to the rights of the ancient Cæsars; and, indeed, the German chancery looks upon the other kingdoms of

Europe as provinces severed from the empire. In their protocol they give the title of Majesty to no king whatever.

The elector of Cologne styles himself Chancellor of Italy, and the elector of Trier assumes the title of Chancellor of Gaul. The German king, whom they choose at Frankfort, is declared King of the Romans, though he has not the smallest jurisdiction in Rome; and he exacts a tribute of all the provinces of Italy, when he has forces sufficient to compel the payment. Such a number of equivocal rights had been the source of all calamities and losses Italy had sustained for the space of seven hundred years. It seemed, therefore, probable, that the confusion into which Germany was in danger of being thrown by the death of Charles VI. would give to Italy that extensive liberty for which the people were so very ambitious. The new revolution, which everybody foresaw would follow from the extinction of the house of Austria, might not only annihilate the rights and the name of the Roman Empire; but it even appeared doubtful, whether Germany was not likely to be divided among several princes, all so potent as to find it difficult to acknowledge a supreme head, or at least to leave that head possessed of the same authority as his predecessors had enjoyed.

It seems, therefore, that the inheritance of the house of Austria could not possibly avoid being dismembered. This inheritance consisted of Hungary and Bohemia, kingdoms which had long been elect-

ive, but were rendered hereditary by the Austrian princes; of Austrian Suabia, called Austria Anterior; of Upper and Lower Austria, conquered in the thirteenth century; of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Flanders, the Burgau, the Four Forest Towns, the Breisgau, Friuli, Tyrol, the Milanese, the dukedoms of Mantua and Parma. With regard to Naples and Sicily, these two kingdoms were possessed by Don Carlos. Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Charles VI., founded her rights on the law of nature, which pointed out her being called to her paternal inheritance, and on the Pragmatic Sanction, by which this law was confirmed, and on the guarantee of so many princes.

Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, demanded the succession by virtue of the will of Ferdinand, the first brother of Charles V. By this will, Ferdinand, in default of male issue, named his eldest daughter, the archduchess Anne, wedded to a duke of Bavaria, heiress to his dominions. From her the elector Charles was descended; and as there were no male heirs left of the house of Austria, he claimed to inherit in right of his fourth ancestor.

Rights of a more recent nature were alleged by Augustus III., king of Poland and elector of Saxony; these were the rights of his wife, eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph, the elder brother of Charles VI. If Maria Theresa looked upon the Pragmatic Sanction as a sacred and inviolable law, the archduchess, queen of Poland, had another Prag-

matic Sanction previously regulated in her favor by the father of Joseph and of Charles. It had been settled, in 1703, that the daughter of Joseph should inherit preferably to the daughter of the younger brother, Charles VI., in case her two brothers should die without male issue. After Charles mounted the imperial throne, he abolished this sanction; therefore, after his death, they might set aside that which he had made. His brother's daughters had been in his power, nor did he marry them till he made them renounce their rights: but a renunciation of such a nature must be considered as compulsory, and consequently illegal. On every side they pleaded rights of blood, testamentary dispositions, family compacts, the laws of Germany, and the law of nations.

The king of Spain extended his pretensions to the whole succession of the house of Austria, deriving his right from a wife of Philip II., daughter of the emperor Maximilian II., a princess from whom Philip V. was descended by the female line. It was indeed an extraordinary revolution in the affairs of Europe, to see the house of Bourbon laying claim to the whole inheritance of the house of Austria. Louis XV. might have pretended to this succession by as just a title as any other prince, since he was descended in a direct line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by the wife of Louis XIII. and likewise by the wife of Louis XIV., but it was his business to act rather as an arbitrator and protector, than as a competitor; for by that

means he had it in his power to determine the fate of this succession, and of the imperial throne, in concert with one-half of Europe; whereas, had he entered the lists as a pretender, he would have had all Europe against him. This cause of so many crowned heads was published by public memorials in every part of the Christian world; there was not a prince, nor hardly a private person, who did not interest himself in the dispute; and nothing less was apprehended than a general war. But how greatly was human policy confounded, when a storm arose from a quarter where nobody expected it!

In the beginning of this century, the emperor Leopold, availing himself of the right which the German emperors had constantly attributed to themselves of creating kings, erected ducal Prussia into a kingdom, in 1701, in favor of Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg. At that time Prussia was only a large desert; but Frederick William II., its second king, pursued a plan of politics different from most of the princes of his time: he spent above five millions of livres in clearing the lands that were incumbered with wood, in building towns, and in filling them with inhabitants: he sent for families from Suabia and Franconia: he brought more than sixteen thousand men from Salzburg, and furnished them with all necessary implements of labor. In this manner, by forming a new state, and by extraordinary economy, he created, as it were, a power of another kind: he laid up constantly about sixty

thousand German crowns, which, in a reign of twenty-eight years, amounted to an immense treasure: what he did not put into his coffers he spent in raising and maintaining eighty thousand men, whom he taught a new kind of discipline, though he did not employ them in the field: but his son, Frederick III., made a proper use of his father's preparatives: everybody knew that this young prince, having been in disgrace in his father's reign, had devoted all his leisure hours to the culture of his mind, and to improving those extraordinary talents with which he had been blessed by nature. Those talents, which indeed would have highly graced a private subject, the public saw and admired; but neither his political nor military abilities were yet perceived; so that the house of Austria entertained no more distrust of him than of the late king of Prussia.

He came to the crown three months before the succession of the house of Austria and of the empire was open: he foresaw the general confusion; and, on the emperor's decease, he did not lose a moment, but marched his army directly into Silesia, one of the richest provinces which the daughter of Charles VI. possessed in Germany. He laid claim to four duchies, which his ancestors had formerly held by purchases, or by family compacts. His predecessors had repeatedly and solemnly renounced all pretensions thereto, because they were not in a condition to make them good; but, as the present king had power in his hands, he was resolved to reclaim them.

France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony were all now busy about the election of an emperor. The elector of Bavaria solicited France to procure him at least a share of the Austrian succession. He pretended, indeed, a title to the whole inheritance in his writings, but he dared not demand the whole by his ministers. Maria Theresa, however, the great duke of Tuscany's spouse, immediately took possession of all the dominions which had been left her by her father, and received the homages of the states of Austria at Vienna, on Nov. 7, 1740. Bohemia, and the provinces of Italy presented their testimonies of allegiance by their deputies. But she particularly gained the affections of the Hungarians by consenting to take the ancient coronation oath of King Andrew II., made in 1222, and couched in these terms: "If I or any of my successors shall, at any time whatever, violate your privileges, be it permitted, in virtue of this promise, both to you and your descendants, to defend yourselves without being liable to be treated as rebels."

The greater the aversion which the ancestors of the archduchess-queen had always shown to the performance of such engagements, the more this prudent step endeared her to the Hungarians. This people, who had so often attempted to shake off the Austrian yoke, embraced that of Maria Theresa; and after they had been two hundred years engaged in seditions, quarrels, and civil wars they suddenly began to adore their sovereign. The queen was not

crowned till some months after, which ceremony was performed at Presburg, on June 24, 1741; yet her authority was not the less complete: she had already gained the hearts of the whole nation by that popular affability which her ancestors had seldom practised; and she had laid aside that ceremonious and fastidious air which is apt to render princes odious, without procuring them any greater respect. Her aunt, the archduchess, governess of the Netherlands, never admitted anybody to eat at her table; the niece admitted to hers all her ladies and officers of distinction; the deputies of the states were at liberty freely to address her; she never refused audience, nor suffered anybody to depart from her discontented.

Her first care was to secure to the grand duke, her husband, a partnership of her crowns, under the name of co-regent, without diminishing her sovereignty, or violating the Pragmatic Sanction. She mentioned it to the states of Austria the very day she received their oath, and soon after she compassed her design. This princess flattered herself in these beginnings, that the dignities with which she adorned her husband would have smoothed his way to the imperial throne; but she had no money, and her troops were greatly diminished and dispersed in the different parts of her vast dominions.

The king of Prussia proposed to her, at first, that she should yield Lower Silesia to him; and, in that case, he offered her his whole credit, his assistance,

his arms, with five millions of French livres, and also to guarantee the remainder of her dominions, and to settle the imperial crown upon her husband. The most experienced statesmen foresaw that, if the queen of Hungary refused such offers, Germany must be thrown into a total confusion; but the blood of so many emperors which flowed through the veins of this princess, would not suffer her even to think of dismembering her patrimony: she was weak, but intrepid; numbers of Austrians, who saw only the outward grandeur, but not the imbecility, of the court of Vienna, haughtily pronounced that the elector of Brandenburg would be put under the ban of the empire in six months. Even the ministers of this prince were frightened at the sound of the Austrian name; but the king, who saw plainly that this power was at that time no more than a name, and that the state in which Europe then was, would infallibly procure him allies, marched his army into Silesia in the month of December 1740. They wanted to put this device on his standards, "*Pro Deo & Patria;*" but he struck out "*Pro Deo,*" saying that it was improper thus to intermix the name of God with the quarrels of men; and that his dispute was concerning a province, and not concerning religion. He ordered the Roman eagle in relief to be fixed on the top of a gilded staff, and borne before his regiment of guards, a step which carried with it the appearance of his being necessarily invincible. He harangued his army, endeavoring in every respect to

resemble the ancient Romans. Entering Silesia, he made himself master of almost the whole province, of which they had refused him a part; but nothing as yet was decided.

Marshal Neuperg marched an army of about twenty-four thousand Austrians to the relief of the invaded province; and the king of Prussia found himself under the necessity of coming to an engagement at Molwitz, near the river Neisse. Then it was that the Prussian infantry showed what they were able to perform: the king's cavalry, less strong by half than the Austrian, was entirely broken; the first line of his infantry was taken in flank; the battle was thought to be lost; all the king's baggage was pillaged, and this prince, in danger of being taken, was carried away by the crowd that surrounded him; but his second line of infantry set everything again to rights, by that unshaken discipline to which they are so well accustomed; by their incessant fire, which is at least five times repeated in a minute, and by fixing their bayonets to their muskets in a moment. They gained the victory and this event became the signal of a universal combustion.

CHAPTER III.

THE KING OF FRANCE UNITES WITH THE KINGS OF PRUSSIA AND POLAND TO ADVANCE CHARLES ALBERT, ELECTOR OF BAVARIA, TO THE IMPERIAL THRONE: THAT PRINCE IS DECLARED A LIEUTENANT-GENERAL IN THE SERVICE OF FRANCE — HIS ELECTION, HIS SUCCESS, AND VERY RAPID LOSSES.

WHEN the king of Prussia seized upon Silesia, all Europe imagined him in alliance with France. It was a mistake, which is often the case when we argue only from probabilities. The king of Prussia hazarded a great deal; this was his own acknowledgment; but he foresaw that France would not let slip so fair an opportunity of seconding him. It was the apparent interest of France to favor her old ally, the elector of Bavaria, whose father had formerly lost all by befriending her against the house of Austria. After the battle of Höchstädt, this very Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, then in his infancy, was made prisoner by the Austrians, who stripped him even of his name of Bavaria. France found her account in avenging him. It seemed easy to procure for him at one and the same time the empire and a part of the Austrian succession. This was a step by which the new house of Austria-Lorraine would be deprived of that superiority which the old one affected to have over the other princes of Europe; it also abolished the old rivalry subsisting between

the dependents of Bourbon and Austria; nay, it was doing more than ever Henry IV. or Cardinal Richelieu had hoped to compass.

This revolution, the foundation of which was not yet laid, was foreseen in the very beginning by Frederick III. of Prussia, on his setting out for Silesia: it is so true that he had not concerted any measures with Cardinal Fleury, that Marquis de Beauveau, who was then at Berlin, whither he had been sent to compliment Frederick on his accession in the name of France, knew not, on the first motion of the Prussian troops, whether they were destined against France or Austria. King Frederick said to him, on the point of his setting out: "I believe I am going to play your game; if I throw aces, we will divide." This was the sole beginning of a negotiation then at a distance.

The French ministry hesitated for some time. Cardinal Fleury, then in his eighty-fifth year, was fearful of staking his reputation, his old age, and his country, on the hazard of a new war. The Pragmatic Sanction, to which he had acceded, and which he had authentically guaranteed, restrained him; yet he might have been encouraged to it by former treaties with Bavaria. It is certain that this war, at which they afterward so warmly inveighed, was loudly demanded by Paris and Versailles. I heard a man of great distinction say: "Cardinal Richelieu pulled down the house of Austria, and Cardinal Fleury will, if he can, erect a new one." These

words were carried to the minister's ears, and piqued him sensibly; nor did he give up the grand point until he found it impossible longer to oppose those who were carrying it into execution. About the end of December, the cardinal gave instructions to the count de Belle-Isle to prepare a plan for negotiating in the empire the means of carrying on a war to fix the elector of Bavaria in the imperial throne, and secure to him part of the Austrian succession. The count demanded eight days to consider it, and then produced his scheme, of which he caused three copies to be made out, one of which was for the cardinal, another for the department of foreign affairs, and the third for himself.

If there could be any dependence on the designs of men, never did the execution of any project appear more certain. The count, afterwards duke de Belle-Isle, demanded, that before the month of June fifty thousand French should have passed the Rhine, marching towards the Danube. He insisted that in this army there should be at least twenty thousand cavalry. He entered, as was always his custom, into a long detail about the means of marching and subsisting these troops; and repeated in every page, that he would rather do nothing than do things by halves. They had nearly six months to prepare for a revolution, which the king of Prussia had already begun in the midst of winter. Saxony seemed disposed to join with France and Prussia; the king of England, elector of Hanover, was to have been compelled to a

neutrality by an army of forty thousand men in readiness to enter his German dominions on the side of Westphalia; while Belle-Isle's army was to have seconded Saxony, Prussia, and Bavaria, by advancing toward the Danube. The elector of Cologne also attached himself to this interest, being that of his brother, the intended emperor. The old elector palatine, who should have obtained for his heirs the king of Prussia's renunciation of his rights to the duchies of Juliers and Bergues, and this under the protection of France, was more than all the rest desirous of seeing Bavaria mount the imperial throne. Everything united to favor his election: he was to be assisted in seizing upon Austrian Suabia and Bohemia; for the imperial dignity alone would have been worth but little. This alliance was to join Spain, in order to put Don Philip, son of Philip V., and nearly related to Louis XV., in possession of Parma and the Milanese. In a word, in 1741, they wanted in a part of Europe, as they had done in 1736, to make a partition of the empire. The same thing had been meditated by England and Holland, conjointly with France, some time before the death of Charles II., king of Spain.

Marshal Belle-Isle was sent to the king of Prussia's camp at Frankfort, and to Dresden, to settle the vast projects which, from the concurrence of so many princes, seemed infallible. He in everything agreed with that august monarch, who, writing of him, says: "I never saw an abler man, whether in council

or the field." He went from him into Saxony, and gained there such an ascendancy over the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, that he marched his troops before the signing of the treaty. The marshal negotiated everywhere in Germany; he was the life and soul of that body, which was concerting means of bestowing empire and hereditary honors upon a prince who could do nothing of himself. France gave at one and the same time to the elector of Bavaria money, allies, votes, and armies. He had promised twenty-eight thousand of his own troops, yet could scarcely furnish twelve thousand, though assisted with French money. The king sent the army he had promised him; and by letters-patent created him his general, whom he was about to give as head to the empire.

The elector of Bavaria, thus strengthened, easily penetrated into Austria, while Maria Theresa was scarcely able to oppose the king of Prussia. He soon made himself master of Passau, an imperial city governed by its bishop. This place separates Upper Austria from Bavaria. He advanced as far as Lintz, the capital of Upper Austria, and some of his parties skirmished within three leagues of Vienna. The alarm spread, and threw that city into confusion; they prepared as quickly as possible against a siege; one whole suburb, and a palace bordering on the fortifications were entirely destroyed; the Danube was covered with vessels laden with valuable effects, which were removing to places of greater

security. The elector of Bavaria even sent a summons to Count Khevenhuller, governor of Vienna.

England and Holland were at that time far from holding in their hands that balance to which they had so long pretended. The states-general viewed in silence Marshal Maillebois's army, which was then in Westphalia; as did also the king of England, who was in some fears for the safety of his Hanoverian dominions, where he then resided. He had raised twenty-five thousand men to succor Maria Theresa; and at the head of this very army, enlisted purposely to assist, he was obliged to abandon her, and sign a treaty of neutrality. His domestics were furnished with passports for themselves and their equipages by the French general to carry them to London, whither the king himself returned by the way of Westphalia and Holland. Not one of the princes, whether within the empire or without, at his time supported that Pragmatic Sanction, which so many of them had guaranteed. Vienna, poorly fortified on that side where it was threatened, could not have held out long. Those who were best acquainted with Germany, and the state of public affairs, looked upon the taking of Vienna as a certainty; whereby the assistance which Maria Theresa might otherwise have drawn from the Hungarians would have been cut off, her dominions laid entirely open to the arms of the conqueror, all claims settled, and peace restored to the empire, and to Europe.

This princess seemed to grow more and more cour-

ageous in proportion as her ruin seemed to be inevitable. She had quitted Vienna, and threw herself into the arms of the Hungarians, whom her father and ancestors had treated with so much severity. Having assembled the four orders of the state at Presburg, she appeared in the midst of them, holding in her arms her eldest son, who was yet in his cradle, and addressing them in Latin, a language in which she expressed herself perfectly well, spoke nearly in these words: "Forsaken by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, attacked by my nearest relatives, I have no resource but in your fidelity, your courage, and my own constancy; to your trust I surrender the daughter and son of your kings, who from you expect their safety." All the palatines, softened, yet animated by this short speech, drew their sabres, crying out at the same instant: "Let us die for our king, Maria Theresa"—"*Pro rege nostro Maria Theresa mariamur.*" They always give the title of king to their queen; and never, in fact, did princess better deserve that title. They shed tears in taking the oath to defend her; her eyes alone were dry: but when she withdrew with her maids of honor, those tears which the greatness of her soul had hitherto suppressed, burst from her in abundance. She was at that time with child, and had written, not long before, to her mother-in-law, the duchess of Lorraine, these words, "I as yet know not whether I shall have a single town left, wherein to be brought to bed."

In this condition she excited the zeal of the Hungarians; England and Holland roused in her behalf, and supplied her with money: she corresponded all through the empire; negotiated with the king of Sardinia, while her provinces furnished her with soldiers.

The whole kingdom of England was warmed in her favor: the English are not a people who wait to know their sovereign's opinion before they form theirs. A free gift for that princess was proposed by some private persons. The duchess of Marlborough, relict of that duke who had fought for Charles VI., assembled the principal ladies of London, whom she induced to advance for this cause a hundred thousand pounds sterling, forty thousand of which she laid down herself. The queen of Hungary had the firmness to decline accepting the money thus generously offered, and to wait for such sums as might be granted to her by the nation in parliament assembled. It was generally believed that the victorious armies of France and Bavaria would have advanced to the siege of Vienna. It is the opinion of the king of Prussia, that what the enemy fears should always be carried into execution. This siege was, however, not undertaken, and the enemy turned off toward Bohemia; perhaps it was because the season appeared too far advanced, or because it was intended to preserve a balance of power between the houses of Bavaria and Austria, by leaving

Vienna and Hungary to the one, and the remainder of the German possessions to the other.

The French army, commanded by the elector of Bavaria, and strengthened with twenty thousand Saxons, marched toward Prague in the month of November, 1741; and Count Maurice of Saxony, natural brother of the king of Poland, took the place by escalade. This general, who inherited from his father his very extraordinary bodily strength, as well as all his valor and sweetness of temper, was moreover endued with the greatest talents for war. From his reputation only he was, by the unanimous voice of the people, elected duke of Courland: but Russia, having deprived him of the benefit of an election, to which he was presented by a whole province, he consoled himself in the service of France, and the social pleasures of a nation which was not, as yet, sufficiently acquainted with his merit.

To form a proper idea of Count Saxe's character, whose name will be handed down to latest posterity, it is sufficient to observe that, being accused to the king of Prussia at this time of engaging in those petty disputes which almost always divided the generals of the allied armies, he answered the charge in these words, addressed to General Schmettau: "Those who are acquainted with me know that it is more my talent to break a lance in the field than to spin intrigues in a closet."

It was necessary that Prague should be taken in a

few days, or the enterprise be abandoned. They were in want of provisions; the season was far advanced; and the town, though but poorly fortified, could easily resist the first attacks. General Ogilvy, an Irishman by birth, commanded in the place, where he had a garrison of three thousand men. The grand duke of Tuscany marched with an army of thirty thousand men to its relief, November 25. He was already within five leagues of it, when the same night the French and Saxons made an assault upon the town. They made two attacks on one side, under cover of a desperate fire from their artillery, whereby the whole garrison was drawn thither. In the meantime Count Saxe silently applied a ladder to the ramparts of the New Town, in a part very distant from the general scene of action; and the ladder not being long enough, they were obliged to make up the deficiency with hand-barrows. The first man that mounted was M. Chevert, then lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Beauce: he was followed by Marshal Broglio's eldest son. They reached the ramparts, and found only one sentinel at some distance; crowds soon followed their example, and they made themselves masters of the place. The whole garrison laid down their arms; and Ogilvy, with his three thousand men, surrendered prisoners of war. Count Saxe saved the town from being pillaged; and what was very extraordinary is, that the conquerers and the conquered were mixed together pell-mell for three days: French, Saxons, Bavarians, and Bohe-

mians walked the streets in common, without distinction, or the shedding of a single drop of blood.

The elector of Bavaria, who had just come to the camp, wrote to the king an account of this success in such terms as a general would address to the prince whose armies he commanded. He made his public entry into the capital of Bohemia the same day on which it was taken, and was crowned in the month of December. In the meantime the grand duke, finding subsistence fail in the quarters which he occupied, retired to the southern part of the province, and left the command of his army to his brother, Prince Charles of Lorraine. While these things were in agitation, the king of Prussia made himself master of Moravia, a province lying between Bohemia and Silesia; so that Maria Theresa seemed everywhere lost: her competitor had been crowned archduke of Austria at Linz: he had been lately crowned king of Bohemia at Prague; whence he went to Frankfort, and there was raised to the imperial throne, under the name of Charles VII. All the electors had put a negative upon the vote of Bohemia in choosing an emperor, while that province remained to the queen of Hungary, pretending it was not what a woman had a right to. The elector of Bavaria, now master of Prague, might have availed himself of it; but being under no necessity of so doing, suffered it to lie dormant.

Marshal Belle-Isle, who had followed him from Prague to Frankfort, appeared rather as one of the

principal electors than the ambassador of France: he had managed all the votes, and directed every negotiation: he received all the honors due to the representative of a king who had given away the imperial crown. The elector of Mentz, who presides at the election, gave him the right hand in his own palace: the ambassador paid that compliment to electors only, taking place of all the other princes. His full instructions were sent to the German chancery in French, though it had heretofore required those pieces to be presented in the Latin tongue, as being the proper language of a government which assumes the title and denomination of the Roman Empire. Charles Albert was elected in the most tranquil and solemn manner on Jan. 4, 1742. One would have thought him covered with glory, and at the summit of his happiness; but the scene changed soon, and his very elevation rendered him one of the most unfortunate princes on earth.

The fault that had been committed by not providing a sufficient number of cavalry began now to be felt. Marshal Belle-Isle lay sick at Frankfort; and could not besides, at the same time, conduct negotiations and command an army at a distance. A misunderstanding began to gain ground among the allies; the Saxons complained much of the Prussians; the latter complained of the French; and they preferred complaints in their turn.

Maria Theresa was supported principally by her own magnanimity, and by the money of England,

Holland, and Venice; by loans in Flanders; but, above all, by the desperate ardor of her troops, which she assembled from all quarters. The French army was destroyed by fatigue, sickness, and desertion: and was with difficulty recruited. The French did not find the same fortune as Gustavus Adolphus, who opened his campaign in Germany with less than ten thousand men; yet in a short time found his forces increased to thirty thousand, augmenting them in proportion as he advanced.

The French army, which, on its entering Bohemia, should have amounted to forty-five thousand men, consisted, on its leaving France, of not more than thirty-two thousand, and in this number there was but eight thousand cavalry, whereas there should have been twenty thousand. Every day then weakened the French and strengthened the Austrian forces. Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother of the grand duke, was in the heart of Bohemia at the head of thirty-five thousand effective men; and everywhere favored by the inhabitants. He commenced a defensive war very successfully, keeping the enemy in a state of continual alarm, by cutting off their convoys, and harassing them perpetually on every hand with crowds of Hussars, Croats, Pandours, and Talpaches. The Pandours are Slavonians, inhabiting the banks of the Drave and the Save: they wear a long garment, and in their girdles stick several pistols, a sabre, and a poignard. The Talpaches are Hungarian infantry, armed with a fusee, two pis-

tols, and a sabre. The Croats, called in France *Cravates*, are the militia of Croatia. The hussars are Hungarian cavalry mounted upon small horses, which are very light and hardy: they cut off posts that are weak, and not properly supported by cavalry, which was everywhere the case with the troops of France and Bavaria. The elector of Bavaria thought a small number of troops enough to preserve a vast extent of country, which he did not suppose the empress-queen in circumstances to retake. It is easy to condemn the operations of war when they are unfortunate; but these misfortunes are seldom foreseen: yet, for a long time, Marshal Belle-Isle had foretold them in all his letters from Frankfort.

"They have left troops," said he, "in Upper Austria, which will be inevitably cut off." He wrote thus to M. Breteuil, then secretary of state in the war department, Dec. 17, 1741: "I cannot help dwelling on this important subject: I assure you that the misfortune which I have so long foreseen, will inevitably happen: the first source of our misfortunes must arise from the mixture of nations among our soldiery, and their being scattered." The marshal, falling sick at Frankfort about the end of November, took immediate care to write to court that it was necessary to send another general to take upon him the command of the armies. On December 8, Marshal Broglie, an old officer, bred under Marshal Villars, and celebrated for many brave actions, set out for Strasburg. On his arrival in Bohemia he

found the conquerors embarrassed with their acquisitions, and the Austrians possessed of all the posts in the southern parts of Bohemia. Upper Austria was guarded by only fifteen thousand Bavarians and eight or nine thousand French. Count Khevenhüller, governor of Vienna, appeared suddenly in those quarters with garrisons drawn from such towns as he left behind him, the troops recalled from Italy, and twenty thousand Hungarians. Lieutenant-general Count de Ségur was then at Linz, an open town into which the elector of Bavaria had thrown about eight thousand men. General Khevenhüller advanced with thirty thousand fighting men under command of the grand duke. Ségur's only resource was then to retire; but the elector had commanded him to defend a post which it was not possible for him to maintain. He barricaded the place, and prepared to resist the most vigorous assaults, hoping, on the other hand, that some diversion would be made by the Bavarians; but the latter were defeated and dispersed; and, instead of succoring Linz, they lost Scharding.

The grand duke now appeared in person before Linz, and summoned the French to surrender prisoners of war: on their refusal, he caused his troops to enter the place, sword in hand, and burned down a part of one of his own towns to bury the French in its ruins. M. Duchâtel, a lieutenant-general, who died lately, with the highest reputation for valor, probity, and spirit, came to treat with him on the part

of the besieged. The grand duke insisted on their surrendering prisoners of war. "Well then," said Duchâtel, "since this is your resolution, begin again to burn the town, and we will begin to fire." The prince was softened, and allowed them to retire with the honors of war, on condition that they did not serve again for a year.

The Hungarians, after this first success, immediately advanced and retook Passau. They spread themselves over Bavaria on the Austrian side; while the Austrians entered it on the side of Tyrol, and laid all waste from one end to the other. A partisan named Mentzel, known only by his brutality and depredations, appeared suddenly before Munich with his hussars, and the capital of Bavaria surrendered to his summons. All these events followed each other rapidly, while the French prepared at Frankfurt for the coronation of the elector of Bavaria. In short, on the very day he was elected emperor, he received the account of the loss of Linz, and was soon convinced that he was left without capital or dominion.

CHAPTER IV.

RELATION OF THE MISFORTUNES OF EMPEROR CHARLES VII. CONTINUED — THE BATTLE OF SAHAY — THE FRENCH FORSAKEN BY THE PRUSSIANS, AND AFTERWARD BY THE SAXONS — MARSHAL MAILLEBOIS'S ARMY MAKES A FRUITLESS MARCH INTO BOHEMIA — MARSHAL BELLE-ISLE PRESERVES THE ARMY AT PRAGUE.

FORTUNE now declared herself as much an enemy to the Bavarian emperor in Bohemia as in Upper Austria and Bavaria: the aspect of things was the more melancholy in three months' time, because his affairs in Bohemia looked well; and, from the superiority of his allies there was great probability of their being able to restore to him his dominions; for on the one side Count Saxe had taken Eger, and thus the two extreme boundaries of Bohemia were maintained; on the other, Prince Charles, having given battle to the king of Prussia near Czaslau, in the heart of Bohemia, into which he had penetrated with his army, which was totally defeated.

The Saxons were also in a condition to second the king, and to assist in preserving the conquests which had been made for the common cause by the French armies conjointly with them. In the midst of these apparent advantages, Marshal Belle-Isle, being recovered from his indisposition, hastened to the French army at Frankfort, commanded by Marshal Brog-

lie, and encountered the Austrians at Sahay, near Frauemberg, on the road to Prague. These two generals differed in opinion, but were reunited by their zeal for the service. They lay that night on a mattress, and on the succeeding day fought one of the most sharp and glorious battles that had been known during the whole war, if glory may be said to be annexed to small events, happily conducted, and boldly supported, as well as to more decisive actions. Six hundred carbineers and three hundred dragoons, led by the marquis de Mirepoix and the duke de Chevreuse, attacked and routed a body of two thousand five hundred cuirassiers, commanded by Prince Lobkowitz, though they were advantageously posted, and made a gallant defence. The duke de Chevreuse was wounded in three places. The duke de Broglie and all the officers gave to the soldiery a noble example, particularly M. de Malefieux, major of the carbineers, who drew them up in a manner that contributed much to the success of the day. The count de Béranger, at the head of the brigade of Navarre, did very signal service. This was not a great battle, but rather a trial of skill between the French and the Austrian generals, in which each combatant showed prodigies of valor; and if it could not give great superiority to the French armies, it might at least have enhanced their reputation: but it was to no purpose; and they should have foreseen that,

notwithstanding all their apparent success, the pit was dug into which they were ready to fall.

The king of Prussia, dissatisfied with Marshal Broglie, wrote to him a very haughty letter after the battle of Czaslau; and added, with his own hand, this postscript: "I am quit with **MY** allies; for my troops have just obtained a complete victory: it is your duty to make the best use of it out of hand, otherwise you may be responsible for it to **YOUR** allies."

It is scarcely possible to comprehend what he means by those words: "I am quit with **MY** allies." Marshal Broglie, in writing home to the prime minister, observes that the king of Prussia might have expressed himself more obligingly, but that he did not understand French; he understood it well, and his meaning was clear.

This monarch remained inactive after his victory at Czaslau, and they could not conceive what his conduct meant. No advantages were reaped from the little affair at Sahay, and at length subsistence began to fail. There are instances in which the distance from a magazine, or the scarcity of one article of provisions, may occasion the loss of a kingdom. The arrival of the recruits expected from France was too late. The troops under Marshal Broglie were so much diminished that only twelve thousand men could be mustered at a review of forty-six battalions, which should have amounted to thirty thousand men.

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The rest of the army was scattered; while Prince Charles of Lorraine and Prince Lobkowitz reunited their forces. To add to the misfortune, there was but little agreement between the French generals, as well as between those of the allies. Had the Prussians acted conjointly with the French and Saxons it is certain that, being possessed of Prague, Eger, and all northern Bohemia, victorious at Czaslau and Sahay, they might have remained masters of Bohemia. Marshal Belle-Isle, to whom the king of Prussia wrote daily with the most entire confidence, and rather like a friend than a king, waited upon that monarch in his camp on June 5, in order to concert with him what was to be done for the common cause. The king spoke thus to him: "I give you warning that Prince Charles is advancing toward Marshal Broglie; and that if proper advantages are not drawn from the affair at Sahay, I shall make a separate peace for myself." In a word, a treaty between him and the queen of Hungary had been for nearly a year on the point of conclusion; the negotiations had been renewed at Břeslau and The Hague; the articles were at length settled, and nothing was wanting but to sign them. The only and best method of preserving an ally is to be always strong enough to do without him; but Marshal Broglie's army was so far from being in this happy situation that it daily decreased by sickness and desertion.

They were forced to abandon all their posts, one

after another; they daily lost their provisions and ammunition, of which part was pillaged by our own soldiers, and part carried off by the enemy. Prince Charles passed the Moldau in pursuit of a body of troops under M. d'Aubigné, who retreated in disorder; he followed the French to Thein, to Piseck, and from Piseck to Pilsen, and thence to Beraun: these retreats cost the French at least as many men as a battle, and besides contributed to dispirit the troops. They were perpetually harassed in their precipitate marches by the hussars, their baggage pillaged, and every Frenchman that chanced to stray from his corps was massacred without mercy. During this disorder of so many detached bodies everywhere flying before the enemy, Marshal Broglie saved his army by making a resolute stand against the army of Prince Charles, with about ten thousand men, by putting a deep river between them, stealing a march, and, at length, having collected all his forces, retiring toward Prague. This manœuvre was admirable, but did not at all restore his affairs. During the time that he was making so many efforts to prevent his being cut off by the united armies of Prince Charles of Lorraine and Prince Lobkowitz, he was abandoned by the king of Prussia. The first disgraces of the French arms in Bavaria and Bohemia gave rise to the treaty, the latter occasioned its being signed on June 11, 1742. The king of Prussia had, at a very proper opportunity, taken up arms to make an easy conquest of Silesia; and he

was now willing, at as proper a time, to lay them down, in order to keep the largest and richest part of that province as far as the river Neisse.

The queen of Hungary, who, fifteen months before, might have prevented the war, and put the imperial crown upon the head of her husband, besides being supplied with troops and money at the king of Prussia's expense, by only giving up a part of that province, now thought herself very happy in ceding to Prussia much more than he had then demanded, and got nothing in return. She also parted with the county of Glatz to him; and if she did not secure him as an ally, she was, however, for some time freed from a formidable opponent.

The emperor was abandoned by this treaty, and not the slightest mention made of France. Saxony, by one of the articles of peace, was to be comprised therein, provided that their forces separated from the French within sixteen days, reckoning from the time of signing the treaty.

The Saxon army withdrew long before the stipulated term. The French remained alone the protectors of the emperor, and were the only troops exposed to danger. His only asylum was Frankfurt, where he had been crowned. In vain did Marshal Belle-Isle, though in a bad state of health, post from the Prussian camp to the court of Dresden; in vain did Marshal Broglie assemble his troops, considerably recruited: there was but little subordination in his army; they saw themselves in a strange

country, without allies or assistance; they had Prince Charles to contend with, who commanded a superior army, and was beloved by his people. The advantage of speaking the language of the country in which a war is carried on is also very great; they receive intelligence quicker and oftener. The national troops are favored always, and foreigners betrayed. There was also another inconvenience, which is alone sufficient to destroy an army, and even a state. Marshal Belle-Isle, who arrived at Prague about the end of June, from Dresden, had a commission as general in Bohemia; and Marshal Broglie, who, at Prague, had under him part of the battalions destined for Bavaria, insisted on keeping the chief command as his right, being the oldest marshal. Thus here were two generals, and the principal officers did not know which they were to obey. Cardinal Fleury continued Marshal Belle-Isle in the command. The king's service did not, however, suffer from things remaining in this dangerous and doubtful situation, which is yet more rare than this division of authority.

The French, deserted as they were, saw themselves still possessed of the most important place of all their conquests. But while Bohemia was the theatre of these revolutions, the Hungarians lived in the capital of Bavaria, of which they were masters, with all the licentiousness and cruelty of an unbridled soldiery. The town was ransomed; yet the neighboring villages were ravaged, and the peo-

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ple reduced to a state of desperation. The king of France did not abandon the emperor; he maintained him in possession of Prague and Eger; the duke d'Harcourt, with fifteen thousand men, advanced to succor Bohemia; this diversion proved, for a very short while, the deliverance of Munich.

The Austrian general, Khevenhuller, having drawn together his forces, marched out of Munich in the month of April. The inhabitants, who were highly incensed against them, rose upon and slew several of them at the very instant of their quitting the place; then shut the gates, though it was almost an open town, and intrenched themselves. But in a few days afterward they were obliged to surrender for the second time, and to give up their arms. This cost several of the citizens their lives, who were slain by the Pandours; others saved themselves by sacrificing part of their private property. The Bavarian troops were always beaten; the duke d'Harcourt, with great difficulty, maintained himself on the banks of the Danube against a superior enemy. The eyes of all Europe were now turned upon Prague; the two French marshals being reinforced, had got together in the town, or under the walls, after so many disasters, twenty-eight thousand men. June 27, 1742, Prince Charles of Lorraine appeared before the place, with forty-five thousand men, besides eighteen thousand Hungarians under General Festitz, who advanced to him from Silesia, where they had been before employed, and whom



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the peace with the king of Prussia left at liberty to march wherever their sovereign's service required.

An army of sixty thousand fighting men had never before been seen laying siege to one of twenty-eight thousand; but the more numerous the garrison, and the more populous the town, the greater reason was there to expect that provisions and ammunition should fail. The queen left nothing undone which she thought might contribute to the retaking of her capital. She gave all the horses in her stable to draw the artillery and stores: her example was followed by her nobles, and they paid the wagoners for theirs in ready money. The hope of this court seemed to rise in proportion as she was exhausted.

The queen had made up an Amazonian dress, in which she proposed to enter Prague on horseback, at the head of her victorious army; nay, so sure were they through all her dominions that Prague must in a short time be taken, that an Austrian general in the Low Countries sent a servant from Brussels to Prague, on purpose that he might bring him the earliest account of the surrender of the place.

The French minister ordered Marshal Belle-Isle to offer to evacuate the place to the Austrians, provided that all the French troops in Bohemia were permitted to withdraw; and that, on the other hand, all the Austrian troops should retire out of Bavaria. This proposition seemed the preliminary of a general peace: but it was far from being agreed to by the besiegers; for at their second conference Marshal

Königseck declared to Marshal Belle-Isle that the queen absolutely hoped to make the whole French army prisoners of war. In Prague everything began to fail but courage: about the end of July meat sold there for four livres a pound; horse-flesh was eaten at the very best tables; and through scarcity of forage they were forced to kill or abandon upward of fourteen thousand horses to the enemy. The dukes of Biron, Chevreuse, Luxembourg, Boufflers, Fleury, Count Clermont de Tonnerre, brigadier-general of horse; M. de Séchelles, intendant of the army, sent their plate to the mint of Prague to be coined for the subsistence of the officers and soldiers.

It was the unhappy fate of the French at Prague to find themselves far distant from their own country, among a people to whose language they were strangers, and by whom they were hated; to be exposed to every kind of necessity, without any certainty of assistance, and to have no other subject of conversation than past mistakes and present dangers. One hundred pieces of cannon, and thirty-six mortars, were fired upon their entrenchments; but the Austrians, not having one good engineer among them, their works were but indifferently conducted; the trenches were too long and too large, and the French reaped some advantages from their errors; they made daily sallies, but the most memorable was that of August 22; it was in reality a battle. Twelve thousand of the besieged attacked the besiegers, carried a battery of cannon, made two hundred

prisoners, filled up the works, took General Monty, killed fifteen hundred men, and wounded two thousand. In this engagement, Duke of Biron, Prince des Deux-Ponts, brother of the reigning duke, and Prince de Beauveau were wounded. The marquis de Tessé, first equerry to the queen, and his lieutenant-colonel, were killed near each other. The marquis de Clermont, colonel of the regiment d'Auvergne, the marquis de Molac and Colonel Berry, lost their lives at the same time.

This memorable action was dearly purchased, but threw the Austrians into such astonishment that they dared not afterward carry on any of their feeble works, which scarcely deserved to be styled fortifications: they contented themselves with firing ineffectually from their batteries, but made no breach. The place might rather be said to be invested than besieged; yet it was apparent that in the end the entire loss of the French both in Prague and in Eger must be inevitable: there was but one way to relieve them, which was to send to their succor that army of about forty thousand men, which, under the command of Marshal Maillebois, had obliged the king of England to sign an apparent neutrality, and at the same time awed both Holland and Hanover: but this army was about two hundred leagues from Prague. This expedient was proposed by Marquis de Fénelon, ambassador in Holland. It had its inconveniences, but was not without its advantages. France can easily raise and subsist three hundred thousand men

for ten years, without being drained, yet now there were scarcely twenty thousand men in the heart of that kingdom; so that they were in the most perplexed situation. They had, at different intervals, sent into Germany the better part of two hundred and twelve squadrons, and one hundred and seventeen battalions, and these had been from time to time recruited; these troops, divided in Prague, Eger, Bavaria, and the Upper Palatinate, were above half wasted away. Count Saxe, who at that time commanded in Germany, wrote to court that he had not a hundred and fifty men left to a battalion.

In order to succor and disengage these dispersed, weakened, and almost annihilated armies, it was debated to march toward the complete and flourishing army of Marshal Maillebois, composed of forty-one battalions and sixty-five squadrons, three thousand Palatines, three thousand Hessians, and three independent companies of foot and two of dragoons. It was obvious that if all these forces united had acted with unanimity, and been assisted by Prussia and Saxony, they must have succeeded. If Marshal Maillebois had advanced with his army along the banks of the Rhine to penetrate into Bohemia, he had left France unguarded; so that even the Dutch might have become formidable, and harassed the frontiers with forty thousand men. The oldest and ablest generals were consulted upon this head. Marshal de Puysegur represented the difficulties and dangers of the proceeding, all which M. Noailles

admitted; but yet insisted on the necessity of it. Marshal d'Asfeldt was also of the same opinion; and the king determined upon it, however hazardous, because necessary, convinced that great undertakings cannot be executed without risking great losses. But the route and manner in which this army was to be conducted still embarrassed them extremely.

The emperor Charles would have been glad had they been employed in his electoral dominions, where he himself had commanded them. He represented in writing that, by delivering Bavaria, Prague would be set free; the siege of which the Austrians must infallibly raise as soon as this army should reach the banks of the Danube: but the French ministry could never think of putting their only resource into the hands of an emperor who had been so little able to defend himself. Cardinal Fleury wrote to dissuade him from it, in his letter dated August 19. The only reason which he alleges is couched in these terms: "Would it become an emperor to appear at the head of our armies, without an equipage suited to his dignity?" This was a strange reason, and was far from corresponding with the king of France's allowing six millions yearly to his imperial majesty. Marshal Maillebois's inclination was to march his army to the succor of Bohemia, because he there expected to find greater plenty of provisions than on the barren defiles of Bohemia. Marshal de Puysegur, seeing it absolutely necessary that this army should march, thought their direction, at least, ought

to be suited to the opinion of Marshal Maillebois: but the favorite object of entering Bohemia prevailed. The intention of the cardinal was that this auxiliary army should inspire with spirit the rest of the king's troops, while in the meantime he might try every method of making peace.

He felt the pulse of George II., whom he had, the preceding year, compelled to remain neutral in a cause which the English had much at heart. He had some hopes from this negotiation; but the time for it had elapsed. The celebrated Sir Robert Walpole, who, in England, had guided the helm under George I. and George II., had been obliged, by the clamors of the people, to resign his position, because he was of a pacific disposition. His greatest enemies agree that never minister had better supported those great trading companies which are the basis of the English credit; and none knew the art of managing the parliament better; but his best friends cannot deny that he had applied the treasure of the nation to securing a constant majority in parliament, which no minister had ever done before him: he made no secret of this himself; and the author of these memoirs has heard him say: "I am master of a drug that will effectually correct all evil humors: it is sold only at my shop." These words, which convey no idea either of wit or elevated style, are expressive of his character. War had never been his taste: he always thought it would be the period of his power. "I can answer for it," said he, "that I can

govern the parliament in time of peace: I cannot undertake to do so in time of war." Cardinal Fleury had often taken advantage of his timidity, and thereby preserved the superiority in negotiating. This was laid to Walpole's charge by his enemies: incessant were the complaints still made against him for having so long delayed to declare war against Spain. To endeavor preserving peace to a trading nation is surely a strange sort of crime.

His enemies were not only the Tories, who always were directly opposite to the Whigs, but a conjunction of both, equally discontented, because they chose to be so. This faction was denominated "the country party;" a kind of division not unlike that which has almost always subsisted in Poland, and been lately set on foot in Sweden; for in all countries jealousies and complaints are raised against the ministry; and if, in absolute monarchies, they evaporate into empty murmurs, yet, in mixed governments, they become real factions. The country party complained highly that George II. had, by his treaty of neutrality, sacrificed the glory of Great Britain to the preservation of Hanover, and laid the whole blame upon Walpole, the then minister, who had no share in this necessary, unpremeditated treaty, which was entered into only to be broken. Long before this treaty they had attacked him in parliament. Mr. Sandys, then a member of the house of commons, told him openly on Feb. 23, 1741, "Get yourself ready, for I shall impeach you in three days." "I

accept the challenge," answered he, "provided we fight honorably;" and at the same time repeated this line from Horace: "*Nil conscire sibi, nulla palescere culpa?*"

On the very day fixed, his accuser moved the house of commons to petition the king to remove Sir Robert Walpole forever from his council and presence: at the same time a motion of a similar nature was made by Lord Carteret in the house of peers. The question was put, and debated in each house till midnight. Never was there a piece of more manifest injustice than this of endeavoring to bring a man to punishment before there were proofs that he had deserved it. Yet that which does not always happen was at this time the case: the justest party carried it in both houses, and Walpole as yet kept his ground. But the seven years during which the English house of commons subsisted being now at an end, and new representatives chosen, whereby the country party was considerably strengthened, the minister, who had for twenty years supported himself against so many enemies, found it time for him to retire. The king created him a peer of Great Britain, under the title of Earl of Orford; and three days afterward he resigned all his offices. His enemies still proceeded against him legally: they insisted upon his accounting for thirty millions of French livres, said to have been expended in secret services during the term of ten years; and in this sum were included one million two hundred thousand livres,

said to have been given to the political writers and other persons who had employed their pens in favor of the ministry. The king, provoked at this accusation, evaded it by adjourning the parliament; that is, suspended its sitting for some time by virtue of his royal prerogative.

That very Lord Carteret who had accused Walpole in the house of peers, was now in the highest credit: he was employed by the king to convince the people he was in reality as much inclined to war as they were: thus he favored their passions to strengthen his government.

Lord Carteret had been formerly secretary of state, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland: he was one of the most learned men in England, spoke several of the living languages fluently, but more particularly French and Spanish: he was bold and artful, active, indefatigable, and occasionally prodigal of public money, he was as much disposed, through taste and inclination, to war, as Walpole had been to peace: he did not succeed this minister in his post, which was that of high treasurer under a different denomination; but resumed his former employment of secretary of state for the northern department, and was in higher estimation than the new earl of Orford had ever been.

The cardinal made him some overtures for an accommodation, and even went so far as to propose that he should be the mediator; but Lord Carteret only answered by engaging the parliament to raise

supplies to enable the king to levy troops; to take into his pay those of Hanover; to hire forces from Denmark and Hesse, who are always ready to sell their men to either side; to augment the queen of Hungary's subsidies; to purchase the alliance of Sardinia; to conduct a conspiracy at Naples; and to send fleets into the Mediterranean and America: he also proposed to procure for the king of England in Germany the cession in full property of the bishoprics of Osnabrück and Hildesheim; and, in fine, to make his master arbitrator in both hemispheres.

While, on the one hand, the cardinal thus addressed the British court, whose tone was very imperious, he applied, on the other, to the general who besieged Prague: he wrote a letter, dated July 11, to Field-Marshal Königseck, and it was delivered to him by Marshal Belle-Isle, in which he excuses himself from having consented to the present war; and says he has been hurried out of his own measures. "Many people," such are his own words, "know how firmly I opposed the resolutions we have taken; and that I was as it were compelled to acquiesce with them. Your excellency is too well acquainted with all that passed, not to guess at the man who left nothing undone to determine the king to enter into a league very contrary to my liking, and my principles." The queen of Hungary only answered by causing the cardinal's letter to be printed. It was easy to see the ill effects this letter must have produced. In the first place, he threw

the whole blame of the war upon the very general who was commissioned to negotiate with Count Königseck; and to render his person odious was not the way to make his negotiation successful: secondly, it plainly acknowledged a weakness in the ministry; and he must have a slender knowledge of mankind who could not foresee that advantage would be taken of this weakness; that it would inspire the allies of France with indifference, and give her enemies more courage.

The cardinal, finding his letter made public, wrote a second, in which he complains of this publication to the Austrian general; and says, "He shall not hereafter be so forward in writing to him." This second letter did him more hurt than did the first: he disavowed them both in the public papers, and this disavowal, whereby nobody was deceived, crowned all those imprudent proceedings, which less severe judges will be apt to excuse an old man, aged eighty-seven, and perplexed with ill success. At length the emperor offered proposals for a peace to the court of London, and particularly referred to secularizing the two bishoprics above mentioned in favor of Hanover. The English minister did not consider the emperor's interposition in the least necessary toward obtaining those bishoprics. His proposals were insulted by being made public. The emperor was under the necessity of disavowing his offers of a peace, as Fleury had been compelled to disown the war.

The dispute now grew warmer than ever: France on the one hand, and England on the other, under the name of auxiliaries, though principals in fact, strove to hold the balance of Europe sword in hand. In the spring of 1742 the court of England marched into Flanders sixteen thousand English troops, as many Hanoverians, and six thousand Hessians, which, united to about fifteen thousand Austrians, made up a formidable army. They were commanded by the earl of Stair, an officer who had been formerly bred under the great duke of Marlborough, and who in 1715 had been ambassador to France.

England endeavored, before she should strike a blow, to engage Holland to take part in the dispute; but the states-general rigidly adhered to their treaty, which obliged them only to supply the queen of Hungary with money: nothing could induce them, at this time, to furnish troops. Holland was divided into two parties; one was for preserving peace, the other breathed nothing but war. There was, however, a third, as yet but little known, who wished for a change in the government by advancing a stadtholder; but this party, though acquiring strength daily, did not dare openly to declare itself before the other two. The love of liberty still prevailed over the obligations they had to the blood of the Nassaus, and over the intrigues of the prince of Orange. These principles, this division of people's minds, that dilatoriness common to all republics when their danger is not very pressing; all these reasons

united to prevent the Dutch from joining their forces to those of the queen of Hungary and king of Great Britain.

The parties which divided the republic seemed rather to arise from difference in opinion than influence in faction. That turbulent spirit which, in circumstances not very dissimilar, had excited the people to massacre the De Witts, seemed no longer to subsist: the grandson of the pensionary De Witt, as averse to war as he was, went quietly on foot to council. They never had one tumultuous debate; but then they had no one fixed project; and when the states had taken the resolution to augment their forces at all hazards with twenty thousand men, not one of the regency as yet knew whether or not they were determined for war.

Lord Carteret arrived at The Hague to forward this measure: Lord Stair, who commanded the English army at Brussels, also set out for that place, to influence the Dutch in the same cause; the duke d'Arenberg, not less eager than these, added his vague solicitations. Lord Stair was strong enough to penetrate, without their assistance, into France: his army, including the Austrians, amounted to eighty thousand fighting men, with which his intention was to have seized upon Dunkirk; the fortifications of which were very weak on the land side, owing to the sandy nature of the soil. It is certain that France was in pain for this town; for the fortifications of its harbor, according to the loud and

incessant representations of the English at The Hague, had been restored; and they cried out for vengeance on account of this pretended infraction of the Treaty of Utrecht. Marshal de Puységur advised Cardinal Fleury to sequester the place into the hands of the Dutch, until a peace was concluded: a proposal so frank, and at the same time artful, that it should have engaged the Dutch to act as mediators, and never to have declared themselves enemies to France.

This proposal was made to them by the marquis de Fénelon; but the English party, though it had not sufficient authority to force Holland into a war, had yet weight enough to hinder them from accepting an honor whereby they must have been necessarily obliged to remain neutral. In the meantime these things could not have hindered the allied army at Brussels from entering France: but the king of England wanted to temporize, and to wait the absolute determination of Holland; which was one of the greatest mistakes that had been made during the war. I was a witness of the astonishment and grief of Lord Stair, who said the king, his master, had missed an opportunity which would never offer itself again. Nothing was then done either in Flanders or on the Rhine. The general attention was fixed upon Bohemia. Marshal Broglie and Belle-Isle were still masters of Prague, and still besieged. Marshal de Maillebois's army marched through Westphalia, Franconia, and the frontiers of the Upper Palatinate,

to their assistance. Prince Charles, on receiving the news of this march, turned the siege of Prague into a blockade, and hastened to the defence of Bohemia.

It was about this time that a partisan named Trenk, at the head of a number of Pandours, Talpaches, and Croats, seized upon Chamb, a little town on the frontiers of the Upper Palatinate, which still held out for the emperor. He put all the inhabitants to the sword; and after having abandoned the place to be pillaged, and appropriated to himself three hundred thousand florins, which had been therein deposited, he reduced the town to ashes. This same bandit, meeting with a convoy of sick French, guarded by a few soldiers, massacred both soldiers and sick, without distinction. During the whole war, the Hungarian irregulars behaved themselves everywhere with the same sort of savage ferocity.

All France dreaded the same fate for both Prague and Eger, but they had great hopes from the army of Marshal Maillebois. The news of the siege of the former being raised, and turned into a blockade, gave new spirits to the court of Frankfort. The emperor enjoyed a transitory satisfaction from being presented by the prince des Deux-Ponts, brother to the reigning duke, with some standards taken from the Austrians in the different sallies made from the place, which were indeed rather so many real battles, and in which that prince had particularly signalized himself. At length this auxiliary army

arrived on the frontiers of Bohemia about the beginning of September: everything hitherto had been happily conducted: Count Saxe was to join this army with the body he commanded in Bavaria, which did not really amount to more than twenty-seven thin battalions and thirty squadrons, but these were a considerable addition to the new army. Count Saxe, who had already the character of an officer who let no opportunity that offered slip him, had just escaped from Bavaria, where Count Khevenhuller had held him, as it were, shut up; and, by a dexterous march, was advancing toward the frontiers of Bohemia on the one hand, while Broglie approached them on the other.

The duke d'Harcourt, with a detachment from Count de Saxe's troops, had already taken the little town of Plan, on the western extremity of Bohemia, and made therein four hundred prisoners of war. Count de Saxe, after having evacuated Plan, and taken another post called Elnbogen, joined the grand army. They were soon after in sight of the Austrians, and might have given them battle; but it was a hazardous step; for, had they been beaten, they had neither retreat nor certainty of subsistence. The minister had written twice in these terms to M. Maillebois: "Avoid hazarding the honor of the king's army, and come to no engagement, the success of which can be in the least doubtful."

There was not only an impossibility of coming to an action with absolute certainty of success, but also,

the enemy having plundered a magazine, the difficulty of obtaining subsistence daily increased. There was an intention of opening a road toward Prague, by the way of Caden, on the river Eger, and leaving Eger and Elnbogen behind them: were they once posted at Caden, the road to Prague seemed free, and provisions might have been easily received from Saxony. Moreover, Marshal Broglie had posted the marquis d'Armentieres with some troops at Leutmeritz. Leutmeritz is a small town, lying half way between Caden and Prague; and here the Eger falls into the Elbe. Everything depended upon the post of Caden; and at Paris this important military operation exhausted all their conjectures and remarks. Never was the conduct of generals censured with more precipitation and severity; and it has ever since been questioned whether or no the troops were ever at Caden.

I here present you with a detail of the fact, as it has been incontestably declared by the general himself. It may, perhaps, be of little consequence to posterity; at present, however, it is interesting. On October 22 Count Saxe detached some troops toward Caden, to break down the bridge upon the Eger, over which the enemy might have passed. One independent company had already entered the place, and broken down the bridge; the Austrians came up, almost in the same instant, repaired the bridge, and made themselves masters of the town. Thus was all communication cut off between the armies of

Marshal Broglie and M. Maillebois. The latter could receive no accounts from Leutmeritz; and the only road to Caden led through a defile which it seemed impossible to penetrate. Bohemia is surrounded by a chain of craggy mountains, through which there are only some narrow passes or defiles, in which a hundred men may put a whole army to a stand. They had only bread enough left to last till October 24; so that M. Maillebois was obliged to reduce the soldiers to half allowance, by giving them only a quarter of a pound of meat apiece. They attempted to pass the defile of Caden; but found it impracticable to bring up the artillery. The wagoners deserted: their places were supplied by soldiers, but their progress was not in the least quickened. Discontent, want of discipline, misunderstanding, desertion, everything conspired against their march.

A council of war was held on October 17, and all the general officers declared for retreating: Count d'Estrées, who was in Eger, sent his opinion in writing. "For my part," said he, "we must either assemble all our forces and fight, or else proceed no farther: we have no alternative." The rest advised, what had often been proposed before their march into Bohemia, to turn off toward the Danube, and thereby alarm Austria. Thus the army could hardly set foot in Bohemia; but fatigued and diminished by a long and painful march, they returned toward Bavaria. It was, however, better for that electorate to have these new troops, which, joined to those of

Count Saxe, amounted to more than fifty thousand fighting men. The count sent M. Broglie to command them.

This general passed through Saxony, with five hundred horse, November 12: he arrived at Nuremberg, and at Dengelfing in Bavaria, on the 22d, where he took upon him the command of the army. Marshal Belle-Isle remained at Prague, where he engaged the close attention of the Austrians. The auxiliary army, now of consequence, was superior in Bavaria. Munich was a second time relieved, and the emperor entered it again. That prince had still between ten and twelve thousand men. They were masters of the Danube for upward of thirty leagues; that is to say, from Ulm almost to Passau. In Bohemia they still kept Eger and Prague; and the little circle of Leutmeritz, between Prague and Saxony, was still in their hands. The affairs of the emperor might have been re-established; but Leutmeritz was soon after taken, and Marshal Belle-Isle found himself shut up in Prague, together with his whole army, now reduced to about seventeen thousand men, without money, subsistence, or hope of succor: he had nothing to hope, but from himself, and the good disposition of his officers, who none of them fell short of what he expected. In a letter, dated October 28, he says: "I cannot, on this occasion, sufficiently praise the zeal of the dukes de Chevreuse and Fleury, and the marquis de Surgeres, who sold everything they had left to remount the dragoons."

Marshal Belle-Isle, seconded by his brother, brought provisions into Prague, opened the passes, beat the enemy's parties, and kept them at least six leagues' distance all around him: he established an exact police in the town; and what was not the smallest of his labors, caused an exact discipline to be observed among his troops.

When we examine the memoirs of this siege, and see the extremities to which they were reduced, the loud and incessant complaints among the troops, the series of disappointments, their want, and the accumulated miseries whereby they were discouraged, it is astonishing how this general could draw his resources. M. de Séchelles wanted money, and yet he never let the hospitals want. In this place the most immediate assistance was necessary: above twenty soldiers died daily, one after another, during the whole month of June. These and many other losses presented themselves continually to the minds of the soldiers, terrified with their present evils, and a prospect of what were to come, which imagination never fails to heighten considerably.

They were thus cruelly situated in the month of November, when the ministry ordered Marshal Belle-Isle to attempt the evacuation of Prague, even in sight of the army that blockaded it. The general wrote that he had taken such measures as enabled him to obey any orders that might be given him, and he would undertake to hold out four months longer, in case he were commanded to do so; but if the min-

istry thought it more expedient that he should withdraw with his troops out of Prague, he would conduct them in safety to Eger, in spite of the enemy's army, and the extreme rigor of the season. The court preferred the latter proceeding, and it was accordingly carried into execution: during the blockade this general had remounted his cavalry; his dragoons were formed out of the artillery horses; he had covered wagons to carry provisions; he wanted for no manner of convenience; but the danger was extreme.

Prince Lobkowitz had distributed his army in such a manner that they surrounded the town, the inhabitants of which were so many spies on the motions of the French. In the meantime, the weather daily grew colder, and became almost intolerable. There were upward of two thousand soldiers sick in the place, and the marshal himself had been a long while in so bad a state of health that he could not mount on horseback; yet, in the midst of all these conspiring obstacles, he fixed on the night of Dec. 16 or 17, 1742, to make his retreat. In order to secure it more effectually, it was incumbent on him not only to deceive Prince Lobkowitz, but also the inhabitants of the place, and his own people; to this end he was continually sending detachments all around him to bring in forage, which were always accompanied with cannon and covered wagons; so that the surprise should be less when he chose to evacuate the place, which must be done with such

an equipage. Two days before his retreat he laid contributions payable in four months. The day of his intended departure, the gates of the town were kept shut; and having caused a report to be spread that he was to sally out and make an expedition on such a quarter, he made his retreat by another road; whereby he gained upon Prince Lobkowitz a march of twenty-four hours, keeping his people all the while in order of battle, and followed sometimes by thirty pieces of cannon, according as the enemy chanced to present themselves. He forced their quarters, repulsed their cuirassiers, and opened for himself, with a body of eleven thousand infantry and two thousand five hundred horse, a passage through the country that had been entirely unknown. The retreat was continued for ten days through ice and snow. The enemy's cavalry harassed them perpetually on their march, appearing always somewhere either in front, rear, or flank, and were continually repulsed: could they have possessed themselves of the provisions, Belle-Isle's whole army had been destroyed.

To prevent this misfortune his corps marched in five divisions, each of which had under its care its respective share of provisions and ammunition. On the third day Prince Lobkowitz appeared at the head of a body of cavalry, on the other side of a plain where they might have come to an engagement. He held a council of war, in which it was resolved not to attack an army, who, if forced to it, must

certainly fight with that sort of despair that renders courage invincible: he determined therefore to cut off the retreat of the French by breaking down the bridges on the Eger, over which they must necessarily pass.

Marshal Belle-Isle chose, however, a road which would have been, in any other season, impassable: he marched his army across some frozen morasses. The cold was his greatest enemy, for he lost by that alone above eight hundred soldiers. One of the hostages which he brought with him from Prague expired in his coach. At length he arrived at Eger, on December 26, having performed a journey of thirty-eight leagues. That very day the troops that remained behind in Prague made a glorious capitulation. The same M. de Chevert who had been the first in mounting the walls of the place, had been left to command therein with a garrison of about three thousand men, one-third of whom were sick. He took hostages from the town, shut them up in his own house, and lodged several tons of gunpowder in his cellar, fully resolved to blow himself and them together into the air in case the citizens should offer him the least violence. This intrepid conduct contributed not a little to those honorable conditions which he obtained of Prince Lobkowitz. He was allowed to march his garrison to Eger, with all the honors of war, the sick excepted, who, not being able to follow him, were obliged to submit to the hard fate of becoming prisoners of war, though their

behavior merited a much better fate. Thus the town of Prague, which had been taken by the French in half an hour, was now happily evacuated after a siege and blockade of five months. The French being now left alone, without allies, could not preserve Bohemia to the emperor; but they restored him to the possession of Bavaria.

CHAPTER V.

EUROPE DURING THE WAR—STATE OF AFFAIRS
BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN—COMMERCIAL
INTERESTS—WHAT SHARE ITALY TOOK IN THE
TROUBLES WHICH AROSE AFTER THE DEATH OF
CHARLES VI.—THE SHARE TAKEN THEREIN BY
HOLLAND—DEATH OF CARDINAL FLEURY.

IN the space of two years, reckoning from the death of the last Austrian emperor to the end of 1742, we have seen Bohemia, Bavaria, and the Upper Palatinate taken and retaken; Prussia and Saxony united with France, until the Treaty of Breslau, made in June the same year, and afterward becoming neutral; while the other princes of the empire remained silent. In the same year also, George II., king of England, elector of Hanover, began openly to break the neutrality to which he had been forced to accede; and his troops in Flanders, to the amount of forty-eight thousand men, though as yet in a state of inaction, were, however, in readiness to act. The Austrian army was in possession of all Bohemia, Eger

excepted. There were still fifty thousand French in Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, under Marshal Broglie, against a like number of the enemy; so that it was yet doubtful whether the Bavarian emperor, assisted by France, should conquer, or whether he should preserve his patrimony, or even the imperial crown.

It is to be remarked that since the month of August, 1741, France had sent to the emperor's assistance, at different times, one hundred and fifty squadrons, without reckoning eleven independent companies, eight troops of light horse, three thousand Palatines, and three thousand Hessians; to which may be added the Bavarians themselves, who were paid by France, who likewise raised, about the year 1742, thirty thousand militia, deducted from the people of different departments, in proportion to their number. And here it is not amiss to observe that the department of Paris furnishes only fourteen hundred and ten men; while Normandy furnishes three thousand and ninety; a proof that this province is to be considered as the more populous.

France had also at the same time other resources; for besides what she paid to the Hessians and Palatines; besides six millions yearly given to the emperor; she granted subsidies to the king of Denmark to prevent that crown from furnishing troops to the king of England; she also still retained Sweden in her pay, whom she had assisted in her war against Russia; and had it not been for this war,

the court of St. Petersburg might have assisted the Austrians, as she afterward did, with thirty thousand men.

We see what efforts France was obliged to make both at home and abroad: she was obliged to arm one part of Europe, and to maintain the other. Poland was far from cordially supporting the interests of her king, the elector of Saxony; and that elector, since his peace with the queen, concerned himself no further in the quarrel of the empire. The grand seignior, standing in awe of Shah Nadir, who had usurped the throne of Persia, and conquered part of Asia, no longer disturbed the kingdom of Hungary. Such was the state of affairs in the northern and eastern parts of Europe, and in the southern and western parts, in which latter I include France and Italy.

Spain exhibited another scene, wherein England was a principal actor, as well with regard to that balance of power which she had always affected to hold, as her commerce, in which was her more real and sensible interest. We have already observed that, after the happy conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht, the English, who were left in possession of Minorca, as well as of Gibraltar in Spain, had obtained privileges from the court of Madrid which had been denied to the French, her defenders. The English merchants were permitted to supply the Spanish colonies with negroes, whom they purchased in Africa to make slaves of in the new world. This

trade of one species of mankind selling those of another species, at the duty of thirty-three piastres a head, paid by way of duty to the Spanish government, was attended with considerable profit; for the English company had obtained this advantage, that in the sale of four thousand eight hundred negroes, the eight hundred were vended duty free. But the greatest advantage which was granted to the English, exclusive of all other nations, was a permission given them in the year 1716, to send a vessel annually to Porto Bello.

This vessel, which, by the first agreement, was to be only five hundred tons burden, was by convention in 1717, increased to eight hundred, which by abuse and connivance was in reality swelled to a thousand; so that it was fit to contain two millions weight of merchandise; these thousand tons were yet the smallest part of the commerce which this company carried on. The vessel was followed by a pinnace, which went to and from her continually, under pretence of supplying her with provisions. This pinnace took in constant loadings at the British colonies, which she unburdened at the ship; which being thus constantly replenished, was as good as a whole fleet. She was, besides, supplied by other vessels, who landed on the American coasts such kind of commodities as the people were in want of. This was doing great injury to the Spanish government, as well as to all the nations concerned in the com-

merce carried on between the ports of Spain and the Gulf of Mexico.

The Spanish government in return treated the English traders with severity; and severity is always carried to too great a length. The innocent were sometimes confounded with the guilty: the debts lawfully due to some people were detained, because others had made unjust gains. There were violent complaints on both sides. Many of the English carried on a piratical trade with impunity: they encountered some Spaniards on the coast of Florida, who were fishing for the treasure of the wrecked galleons, of which they had already recovered four hundred thousand piastres. Part of these people they killed, and carried off the money. The Spaniards demanded satisfaction for this and other acts of violence of the English governors in America. These buccaneers used often, when they had seized upon a Spanish ship, after having plundered it, to sink it with the crew, that no testimony of their crime might survive. At other times they were wont to dispose of the Spaniards as slaves in their colonies; and when these unhappy people solicited the English government to do them justice, those who had sold them were acquitted from punishment, because they affirmed, that, misled by their swarthy complexions, they mistook the Spaniards for negroes. The judges understood, and winked at the aggressors, in whose plunder they shared, and who were then said to have been tried by their peers.

The Spanish guarda-costas often avenged themselves of these cruel hostilities: they took several English vessels, the crews of which they treated very ill. A negotiation was carried on, both at Madrid and London, for putting an end to those quarrels in America. By the convention of Pardo, made Jan. 14, 1739, Spain having settled her account with the English South Sea Company, promised to pay thereto, in four months, ninety thousand pounds; first deducting therefrom what the company was in other respects indebted to Spain. This deduction furnished fresh matter for a broil; and the settling of the accounts of a commercial company was productive of a war which cost each side a thousand times more than what either demanded.

In 1739 the captain of a ship, named Jenkins, presented himself to the house of commons in England: he was a plain open man, and had not, as it was said, carried on any illicit commerce, but was met by a Spanish guarda-costa within a certain boundary in America, where the Spaniards would not permit the English to navigate. The Spanish commandant, having seized upon Jenkins's ship, put the crew in irons, slit the captain's nose, and cut off his ears. In this condition he appeared before the parliament, and related his story with that simplicity which is natural to his profession and character. "Gentlemen," said he, "when they had mangled me thus, they threatened me with death: it was what I expected; I recommended my soul to God, and the avenging of my

cause to my country." These words, pronounced with a natural emphasis, excited sentiments of pity and indignation in the whole assembly; and the common people wrote upon the door of the parliament house, "A free sea, or a war."

It has been already observed that the minister Walpole wanted to reconcile these differences; his enemies endeavored to augment them: never was any subject handled with more real eloquence than this was in the house of commons of England; nay, I doubt whether the studied orations formerly delivered in Athens and Rome upon occasions almost similar, excelled the speeches now spoken extempore by Sir William Wyndham, Lord Carteret, Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Chesterfield, and Mr. Pulteney, since created earl of Bath. These discourses, which naturally arise from the English government and spirit, often amaze strangers, just as some commodities are capitally prized abroad, which in the country that produces them are but little valued: but these productions must be cautiously perused, as the spirit of party dictates the whole, and the true state of the nation is almost always veiled. The ministerial party paint the government as being in a very flourishing condition; the opposite faction represent the nation to be in a ruined state. Exaggeration triumphs in both. A member of parliament at that time wrote thus: "Where are those days in which a secretary of war declared that no power in Europe should dare

to fire a single cannon without permission being first obtained from Great Britain?"

At length the voice of the nation determined the resolution of the king and parliament. Letters of reprisal were granted to the merchants and privateers. War was declared against Spain in form about the latter end of the year 1739. The ocean now became the theatre of a war in which the privateers of each nation were authorized, by letters-patent, to attack the merchant ships both in Europe and America; thereby reciprocally ruining that commerce, for the preservation of which they were supposed to fight. They soon proceeded to greater hostilities.

In 1740 Admiral Vernon entered the Gulf of Mexico, where he attacked, took, and razed to the ground, Porto Bello, the staple of the treasures of the new world; and thus did he open a channel by which the English, sword in hand, carried on that commerce, which had heretofore been pronounced clandestine, and was the occasion of the rupture. The English looked upon this expedition as one of the greatest services that could be done to the nation. The admiral was honored with the thanks of both houses of parliament. They wrote to him in the same terms as had been addressed to the duke of Marlborough after the battle of Höchstädt. South Sea stock rose after that action, notwithstanding the immense expense of the nation. The English now hoped for nothing less than the conquest of all

Spanish America: they supposed that nothing could resist the arms of Vernon; and shortly after, when that admiral went to lay siege to Cartagena, they anticipated the celebration of the taking of the place; insomuch that, at the very time in which he was forced to raise the siege, a medal was struck in London, on which were to be seen the harbor and environs of Cartagena, with this inscription: "He has taken Cartagena." The reverse exhibited Admiral Vernon and this motto: "To the avenger of his country." There have been many instances of these premature medals, whereby posterity might be deceived, if the errors were not removed by the more faithful and more exact reports of history.

Although the French navy was very weak, it was, however, sufficient to stop the progress of the English, and squadrons were sent by France to protect the vessels and coasts of Spain. It was contrary to the law of nations, should the English, as they had not broken with France, have attacked her flag; but they eluded this artifice with a new kind of policy: they twice pretended to mistake the French for Spanish ships. Six of their ships of war attacked the chevalier d'Épinay off St. Domingo, who had but four, each of which carried less metal than any of the English; but, finding themselves very roughly handled, they drew off, pretending to have found their mistake, and asking pardon. Fighting by mistake was an action that had never been known before. They behaved in the same manner

to the chevalier de Caylus in the Straits of Gibraltar: he gave them as warm a reception, though he had but three ships against five. Thus did they try each other's strength, without being declared enemies. Now the new political system began to be set on foot, of making war in the time of profound peace; of committing hostilities in one part of the world, and of manifesting mutual friendship in another; also of keeping ambassadors in an enemy's court. This sort of proceedings was in some measure consoling to the people, and carried at least marks of moderation, which gave them room to hope for public unity and concord.

This was the state of affairs between France, Spain, and England, when the death of the emperor Charles VI. involved Europe in fresh troubles. We have already seen the effects in Germany of the dispute between Austria and Bavaria. Italy was soon ravaged on account of this Austrian succession; the Milanese was reclaimed by the Spaniards; Parma and Placentia were, by right of birth, to devolve upon one of the sons of the queen of Spain, she being born princess of Parma.

King Philip V. wanted, therefore, to secure the duchy of Milan to his third son. It would have alarmed Italy too much if Parma and Placentia had been disposed of in favor of Don Carlos, who was already master of Naples and Sicily. Too much dominion in the hands of the same sovereign would have given a general uneasiness. For this reason

Milan and Parma were designed for the infant Don Philip.

The queen of Hungary, who was in possession of the Milanese, used her utmost efforts to keep it. The king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, also revived his claim upon that province: he feared seeing it in the hands of the house of Lorraine, engrafted on the house of Austria, who possessing, at the same time, the Milanese and Tuscany, might be strong enough to deprive him of the territories which had been ceded to him by the treaties of 1737 and 1738: but he was still in greater dread of seeing himself hemmed in by France and a prince of the house of Bourbon, while another prince of that family sat upon the throne of Naples and Sicily. On Jan. 1, 1742, he caused to be printed and published a manifesto, in which he stated his claims; but, in the month of February, he resolved to act conjointly with the queen of Hungary, without being upon good terms with her in the main: they only united against the present danger. This was the only advantage they proposed. The king of Sardinia reserved to himself the choice of adopting other measures whenever he should think proper: this was a treaty between two enemies, intended only to defend themselves against a third. The court of Spain sent Don Philip to attack the king of Sardinia, who chose to have him neither as a friend nor a neighbor. Cardinal Fleury allowed the infant and part of his army to pass through France, but refused

to furnish him with troops; he thought it was enough to have sent fleets to America.

This minister seemed to be now afraid to grant twelve thousand men to a prince of the house of Bourbon and the son-in-law of Louis XV., and yet about a year before he had marched two armies of forty thousand each into two different parts of Germany for the service and assistance of the elector of Bavaria. Sometimes we do too much, and at others are fearful of doing ever so little. The reason of his acting thus was that he flattered himself the duke of Savoy might be regained, who was politic enough to leave him room to hope for it; besides, he did not at this time choose to fall out with the English, who would have certainly declared war; for in February, 1742, the parliament of Great Britain granted forty thousand sailors to the king, at four pounds sterling for each man monthly: they also allowed him considerable subsidies, always expressly recommending to him the care of the balance of power in Europe. There was a considerable English fleet in the neighborhood of Gibraltar, and one still stronger off Brest. Cardinal Fleury, who had hitherto always maintained the ascendancy over the English in negotiating, and relied much upon his superiority in the cabinet, had neglected the marine. The continental revolutions, which commenced in Germany, were of such a nature as not to leave him at liberty everywhere to brave the maritime powers.

The English openly opposed the establishment of

Don Philip in Italy, under pretence of preserving the balance of power. In 1702, indeed, they had viewed the balance of power in a different light: it was then they entered into a war for giving to the archduke Charles the crown of Spain, the new world, the Milanese, Mantua, Naples, Sicily, and Flanders; while his brother Joseph was possessed of Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, and many other dominions, as well as being seated on the imperial throne.

In a word, this same balance of power, whether well or ill understood, had become the favorite passion of the English: but the minister had his eye upon a much more secret interest. One of his views was to force Spain to divide with England the trade of the new world: at this price they would have assisted Don Philip to enter Italy, as they had succored Don Carlos in 1731: but the court of Spain did not choose to enrich her enemies at such vast expense; and, moreover, depended upon its power to establish Don Philip in spite of them. In the months of November and December 1741, the court of Spain transported by sea several bodies of troops to Italy, under the conduct of the duke de Montemar, famous for his victory at Bitonto, and afterward remarkable by his disgrace. They had been successively debarked in Tuscany, and in those ports called the state *Degli Presidii*, belonging to the crown of Sicily. Their route lying necessarily through Tuscany, the grand duke, husband of the queen of Hungary, gave them a free passage, hav-

ing declared himself neutral in the cause of his wife. The duke of Modena, who was married to a princess of the blood of France, also declared himself neutral. Pope Benedict XIV., through whose territories both the Spanish and Austrian armies were to pass, promised the same neutrality, and for a better reason than any other, as being the common father of both princes and people.

Fresh forces also arrived from Spain by the way of Genoa: that republic had also declared itself neutral, and permitted them to proceed. About this time the king of Naples, too, adopted the neutral system, though his father and brother were principally concerned; yet after all not one of these potentates, apparently neutral, was so in reality. Don Carlos sent two Neapolitan regiments in Spanish pay to the duke de Montemar: he was compelled to promise that he would take no part in the dispute. Neither the coasts, nor yet the city of Naples, were secure from being bombarded by the English fleet. He had not reigned long enough to make his kingdom that powerful state which it had been formerly under the princes of Normandy and those of the house of Anjou. It was now nearly three hundred years since Naples had had a sovereign residing in the capital; the country was always before governed by viceroys; and, often changing its masters, had not been able to acquire that strength which a state derives from the settled rule of a prince who resides in person in his dominions. The king had

begun with establishing regularity and commerce; but it requires time to raise a marine, and form a body of disciplined and warlike troops. This prince's remaining neutral did not prevent the duke de Montemar's army from being increased by several Neapolitan regiments, as has been before remarked. By this expedient Don Carlos trained his soldiers, and preserved to his people peace and commerce.

The duke of Modena was already the secret friend of Spain; Genoa had much the same inclination; and the pope, having acknowledged the emperor immediately after his election, did not appear entirely neutral toward the queen of Hungary.

Count Traun, the queen's governor in the duchy of Milan, assembling all his forces, joined them to those which were sent him from Tyrol, in order to oppose the Spaniards. About the beginning of March, 1740, the king of Sardinia, warmly seconding the Austrians, advanced toward the territories of Parma. Charles Emanuel III., king of Sardinia and duke of Savoy, appeared every way deserving of a much more extensive dominion than that which he possessed, and which it was his chief study to augment; he now exerted as much courage and activity in the cause of the house of Austria, as he had displayed against it in the war of 1733. In these two junctures he showed how valuable his alliance was, and that nothing ought to be neglected either to secure him or deprive him of power: he had excellent ministers and good generals, and was himself

both a minister and a general; an economist in his expenses, skilful in his conduct, indefatigable in hardship, and courageous in danger.

He appeared in the month of May with eighteen thousand men, on the side of Parma, while the Austrians advanced toward the Bolognese with about twelve thousand. The duke de Montemar, not nearly so strong, lost ground everywhere. The king of Sardinia penetrated to Modena, with the intention of making that duke renounce the neutrality and join him: he proposed conjointly with the Austrians, that he should give up his citadel to them; but that prince and his spouse had too much courage to be compelled to take part in an affair in which they were no way concerned: they rather chose the misfortune of losing their territories for a while, than the shame of being dependent upon those who, under the name of allies, proposed to hold them really in servitude: they quitted their principality and retired to Ferrara; while the Austrians and Piedmontese, possessing themselves of the duchy of Modena, wasted the whole country. Such was the end of their neutrality!

As to the pope, if the queen of Hungary did not oblige him to renounce the system he had adopted, she forced him, however, to furnish the means of carrying on the war even on the papal territory; for, as soon as her arms had gained the upper hand, she obtained a bull for levying the tenth penny on all ecclesiastical livings throughout her Italian domin-

ions: her troops, which pursued the duke de Montemar in the marquisate of Ancona, lived at the expense of the subjects of the holy see. Rome did not have it in her power to cause her neutrality to be respected. It was no longer the time in which the popes were able, sword in hand, to defend or increase their territories: they are more rich, but less powerful than formerly: they have neither generals nor armies: taken up with a pacific system for more than two hundred years, they receive law generally from the army that is nearest to their dominions. Cardinal Alberoni, some years since, proposed a scheme for remedying this weakness, by establishing an Italic body with the pope at their head, as we see in Germany the emperor at the head of the Germanic body: but this project was too great to defend them from the calamities to which war always subjects a neutral and defenceless state.

With respect to the neutrality of the king of Naples, this was the consequence: On August 18, they were surprised by the appearance, off the port of Naples, of an English squadron, consisting of six fifty-gun ships of war, six frigates, and two bomb-ketches. Captain, afterward admiral, Martin, who commanded this squadron, sent an officer ashore with a letter to the chief minister; the purport of which was, that his Neapolitan majesty should recall his troops from the Spanish army; or otherwise, that his capital should be immediately bombarded. Some conferences were held; the English commodore, at

length, gave him only one hour to determine. The port was but poorly furnished with artillery: they had not taken precautions necessary to secure them from insult, because they had not expected it. They now saw that the old maxim is often verified, which says: "Whoever rules at sea, will be master on land." They were obliged to sign everything the English commodore proposed, and even to observe the treaty, until they had provided for the defence of the port and the kingdom.

The English themselves were quite well convinced that the king of Naples could no more observe this neutrality which he had been obliged to embrace than the king of England had observed his in Germany. The duke de Montemar, who had entered Italy to reduce Lombardy, retired toward the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples, always closely pressed by the Austrians. The king of Sardinia returned at the same time to Piedmont and his duchy of Savoy, where his presence was required by the vicissitudes of war. The infante Don Philip had vainly striven to debark some fresh troops at Genoa, which he had been hindered from doing by the English squadron; but by land he entered the duchy of Savoy, of which he became master. The syndics of Chambéry paid him homage: he forbade the inhabitants of the duchy to correspond in the least with their master, under pain of death. King Charles Emanuel passed the Alps with twenty thousand men; and the infante, who had scarcely more than two thousand, abandon-

ing his conquests, retired toward Dauphiny, to wait for reinforcements. As soon as these had reached him, the Spaniards possessed themselves a second time of Savoy. This country is almost entirely open on the side of Dauphiny; but it is poor and barren; so that the sovereign hardly draws from it a million of livres yearly. Charles Emanuel abandoned it to hasten to the defence of places more important.

It is evident from this sketch that the alarm was general, and all the provinces from the heart of Silesia to the extremity of Italy experienced different reverses of fortune. Austria was at this time at open war only with Bavaria and Spain. Naples, Florence, Genoa, and Rome were neutral. The people of the Milanese, of Mantua, of Parma, Modena, and Guastalla, long accustomed to be the prey of the conqueror, without daring to vote either for or against him, looked upon these irruptions and frequent shocks with an impotent melancholy concern. The court of Spain demanded of the states of Switzerland a passage through their territories for some troops they were going to send into Italy, and were refused. The Swiss hire their soldiers to different princes, but forbid them entering their territories; the government is pacific, and the people warriors; a neutrality of such a nature could not but be respected. To give proper weight to hers, Venice levied twenty thousand men.

All Germany seemed indifferent in the quarrel between Austria and Bavaria. Even the elector of

Cologne did not dare to take the part of his brother, who was emperor: he feared the fate of the duke of Modena. If Hanover took part in the quarrel, it was only as a country subject to England, and her soldiers were paid by that crown. The German princes themselves, although their troops were let out as mercenaries, were yet regarded as neutral. The imperial territories, in which the forces of the belligerent powers at different times appeared, were seldom pillaged. The French paid for everything in ready money; the Austrians in paper: England and Holland still kept up at least the appearance of peace with France. There was a consul from England at Naples, a minister from France at Turin, nay, even at Vienna; and those states again had their representatives at Paris. But at bottom, the courts of Vienna, London, and Turin were using their utmost endeavors to shake the French monarchy.

England was more urgent with Holland than ever to declare war, and France labored hard to prevent it. This little republic might have enjoyed the glory of being mediatrix between France and Austria; it would have been for her interest, as well as her grandeur: but the English faction, which was uppermost at The Hague, prevailed. Holland, however, missed this opportunity of playing the noblest part she ever could have done in Europe. It often happens that one man judges better in times of faction and prejudice than a whole senate, or even a nation. M. Van Hoy, ambassador from the states-general

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to the court of France, incessantly remonstrated to them, that nothing could so much contribute to their interest and glory as being the mediators; that if they pursued a contrary plan, they would have nothing left but a fruitless repentance. But the prevailing faction at The Hague grew incensed at his counsel, and forbade him — behavior before unheard of! — to use any more reflections in his letters. The party that contended for a war caused his letters to be published in Holland to expose him to ridicule, because they seemed rather the exhortations of a philosopher than the letters of an ambassador; but they only published their own condemnation.

There were indeed some members of the states-general who thought and spoke like M. Van Hoy; but they engrossed very little attention. They were warmed with the single word "liberty," the remembrance of their having been overrun by Louis XIV., and the hopes of humbling his successor. One would think it scarcely probable, that in the present times some outlines of the customs and manners of Old Greece should be revived; yet it was now seen in Holland. M. William Van Haren, a young gentleman, one of the deputies of the province of Friesland to the states-general, composed some allegorical poems to animate the nation against the king of France. These pieces were full of beautiful strokes of writing: the author knew well how to enrich his tongue, and to give it a turn of harmony.

which indeed it greatly wanted. His verses, though sublime and allegorical, were understood by the people, because they were natural, and the allegory clear: they were read after divine service, in the public squares, and even in the villages; and those who read them were munificently paid by the auditors, as had been formerly the case with those who pronounced Homer's pieces in public. Nothing contributed more to inflame the Dutch. It had been proposed to augment the republic's troops with twenty thousand men; to furnish the queen of Hungary with efficacious assistance; but the deputies of Amsterdam were still wavering. While they were thus undetermined, they received a letter in the name of a part of the town, called Le Jourdain, which had always been a turbulent quarter; and it was couched in these terms: "Messieurs du Jourdain, give this notice to Messieurs the deputies, that perhaps they may have their throats cut, unless they consent to the raising of twenty thousand men." This levy was agreed to, and set on foot some months after; and then the states had an army of eighty thousand men.

It did not as yet appear evident that the United Provinces were to have a stadtholder; his party, however, privately gained strength. It was easily foreseen that the same people who so loudly called out for a war, and forced their governors to augment their troops, might one day oblige them to give them a master. But the magistrates, who were most

devoted to the English faction, though determined on a war, were yet more intent on preserving their authority: they stood in more dread of a stadtholder than the arms of France. This was evident in the military promotions made in September, 1742; when, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the provinces of Groningen and Friesland, who desired that the prince of Orange should be appointed general of infantry, the states made him but a lieutenant-general, a title which the prince rejected with indignation.

In this violent situation were all the European powers in the beginning of the year 1743, when Cardinal Fleury, after having been forced, in a very old age, notwithstanding his character for peace, to involve Europe in trouble, departed this life; he left the naval and political affairs of France in such a crisis that it had caused some change in the hitherto uninterrupted happiness of his life, but it had no effect upon the tranquillity of his soul. He was at the time of his death eighty-nine years and seven months old. The cardinal may be considered as having been a happy man, if we only reflect, that from the truest enumeration, and most exact calculations, it is proved, according to the course of nature, not above one man in a hundred and forty contemporaries arrives at eighty years of age. But we must allow, that no man ever ran through a more singular or fortunate career, since it is well known that among those who arrive at that age, seldom one in

a thousand preserves his health, and has a head fit for business; and if it be remembered, that the cardinal was seventy-three when he assumed the function of prime minister, at which time of life the greater part of mankind choose to retire from public business.

If his good fortune was singular, so was his moderation. Cardinal Ximenes had the riches of a sovereign, and levied armies at his own expense, yet always continued to wear the Cordelier's habit. Cardinal d'Amboise aspired to the papal crown. Wolsey in his disgrace, deplored his condition, because upon the road he had only a hundred and eighty domestics to attend him. Everyone knows the vanity and arrogance of Cardinal Richelieu, and the immense wealth which Mazarin left behind him. Cardinal Fleury had nothing left him whereby to be distinguished, but his modesty; born to no fortune, and subsisting merely upon the allowance of one of his uncles, he expended in beneficent actions what he received from generosity. His whole income, when prime minister, was sixty thousand livres, arising from two benefices; twenty thousand, and no more, was the produce of his seat in council; and he had fifteen thousand from the post-office: half of the sum total he laid out in private offices of charity, and the other half was consigned to the maintenance of a moderate house, and a frugal table. His whole furniture was not worth two thousand crowns.

This simplicity, which contributed so much to his reputation and fortune, was no constraint upon him. Men are never apt to constrain themselves so very long. He had always lived thus entirely employed in pleasing, and advancing his fortune, by those amiable qualities which marked his character and disposition. When he was at court in the office of almoner to the dauphiness, he gained everybody's friendship: his conversation was mild and graceful, mixed with pleasing and lively anecdotes, and sometimes seasoned by a dash of raillery, which, far from being offensive, had something in it very engaging. He wrote just as he spoke. There are some notes of his still extant, written about fifteen days before his death, which prove that he preserved to the last that power of endearment. He was praised by all the ladies about court, without provoking the jealousy or envy of the men. Louis XIV. had refused him a bishopric a good while. I have heard him say, that having at length been promoted to the diocese of Frejus, when he had no longer any hope of being advanced, the king addressed him thus: "I have made you wait longer than I intended, because you had too many friends, who solicited for you; and I was resolved to have the satisfaction of your being obliged to nobody but me."

Although he had a great number of those acquaintances commonly called "friends," it was neither his rule nor his taste to lavish his friendship: he exhibited only the outward appearances of it, and

even that within a certain bound which had in it nothing either false or imposing; being master of the art of preserving the good will of all mankind, without entrusting his secrets to anyone: he resigned his bishopric as soon as he was able, after having by his economy paid off several debts with which it had been encumbered, and done a vast deal of good by his spirit of reconciliation.

These were the predominant traits of his character. The reason which he gave to his people for resigning his bishopric was, that his bad state of health prevented him from paying a proper attention to the welfare of his flock: he assigned the same reason to the duke of Orleans, in his regency, for refusing the archbishopric of Rheims, which his highness offered to him. When Marshal Villars pressed him to accept it, his answer was, it would be unbecoming in him, who had not the ability to govern the diocese of Fréjus, should he find ability to guide the archbishopric of Rheims. This bishopric of Fréjus was far from the court, in an unpleasant country; therefore it was never agreeable to him. He used to say that he was disgusted at his marriage the moment he saw his wife. He subscribed himself thus humorously enough in one of his letters to Quirini: "Fleury, by the divine wrath, bishop of Fréjus."

He vacated that bishopric about the beginning of the year 1715. The court of Rome, which is always well informed of the ecclesiastical affairs of other

kingdoms, was convinced that this voluntary and absolute renunciation of a bishopric was founded in reality on a notion which Fleury entertained of being appointed preceptor to the dauphin. Pope Clement II., who had no doubt of this, spoke of it openly; and indeed Marshal de Villeroi, after much solicitation, obtained that trust for him of Louis XIV., who named for it the bishop of Fréjus in his codicil. Nevertheless, the new preceptor explains himself on this matter, in a letter to Cardinal Quirini, thus: "I have regretted more than once the loss of the solitude of Fréjus: I was informed, on my arrival, that the king was at the point of death, and that he had done me the honor of appointing me preceptor to his great-grandson: had he been able to have heard me, I would have entreated him to have excused me from a burden, the consideration of which makes me tremble; but, after his death, they would not listen to me: I have been therefore extremely ill, and have no consolation for the loss of my liberty."

He comforted himself with insensibly forming his pupil to business, secrecy, and probity; and amidst all the revolutions of the court, during the minority, preserved the good-will of the regent, and the esteem of the public; never endeavoring to make himself of consequence, nor complaining of anyone; exposing himself to no refusal, nor engaging in any intrigue; but he applied himself secretly to the knowledge of the internal administration of the kingdom, and the policy of other nations. All France

wished to see him at the head of affairs, and this wish arose from a consideration of the circumspection of his conduct, and the sweetness of his manners. Accident at length placed him there against his will; and, thus elevated, he made it evident that men of a mild and pacific turn of mind are fittest to govern. His administration was less opposed, as well as less envied, than that of either Richelieu or Mazarin had been in their happiest days: his advancement had no influence on his manners: they were still the same. It was matter of general astonishment to see a first minister who was unexceptionably the most amiable and disinterested man of the whole court. This moderation happily corresponded with the welfare of the states: it stood in need of that peace of which he was so fond; and all the foreign ministers were persuaded, that, during his life, it would never be interrupted.

When he appeared, in 1725, at the Congress of Soissons, all the foreign ministers regarded him as their father; and many princes, besides the emperor Charles VI., often in their letters distinguished him by that title: but in 1733 they presumed too much on his character as a peaceable man. The grand chancellor of Vienna haughtily said they might proceed as they pleased against King Stanislaus of Poland; for the cardinal would bear it all tamely: but, when forced into a war, he conducted it with prudence and success, and brought it to a happy conclusion. The treaty was not indeed satisfactory

either to Spain or Savoy; but France got Lorraine by it; and surely there is no need for hesitation, when we are to choose whether we shall serve our allies or our country.

Without having any mighty views, he did some great things, by letting them work their own events. His tranquil disposition made him fear, and even undervalue, men of penetrating, active capacities; for such, he pretended, were never at rest. But as this turn of mind is always accompanied by strong talents, he kept those who were possessed of it at too great a distance. His distrust of mankind was much greater than his desire of knowing them: his age and character inclined him to believe that there was no sort of genius in France, in any branch whatever; and even if there were, he thought he might do without those who possessed it, believing it a matter of great indifference what kind of people he employed. He endeavored, as much as in him lay, to introduce into the public administration that economy which reigned in his own house. By an adherence to this maxim, he neglected to keep on foot a strong naval armament: he never imagined that the state might one day stand in need of it to oppose the English, whom he had long amused with negotiations; but negotiations may vary and fail of their influence, when a good fleet will not.

The chief principle of his administration was to preserve regularity in the finances of the kingdom, and to give her time to recover herself; "like a

robust body, which, having felt some shock, stands in need only of a certain regimen to restore it." This was the answer he made when a grand project was laid before him, which was an innovation of the finances; and indeed the state of commerce, left almost to itself, under his administration, was very flourishing during the peace; but not being supported by maritime forces equal to those of England, it drooped considerably while the war of 1741 lasted.

His administration was not remarkable for any new establishment in the kingdom, any public monument, nor for even one of those magnificent undertakings or institutions which impose on the public, and strike the eyes of strangers; but it will be always distinguished by his moderation, simplicity, uniformity, and prudence.

At length the most peaceable of ministers was dragged into the most violent quarrel; and he who was the best husband of the public treasures of France, was at last obliged to lavish them on a war, which, while he lived, proved unfortunate. The king was present at his last moments; he wept over him; the dauphin was brought into the chamber, and as they kept him at some distance from the bed of the dying man, the cardinal desired they would permit him to be brought nearer: "It is proper," says he, "that he should be accustomed to such sights as this is." At length he expired in his ninetieth year, undaunted and resigned.

CHAPTER VI.

UNHAPPY SITUATION OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES VII.
—LOSS OF THE BATTLE OF DETTINGEN — THE ARMY
OF FRANCE, SENT TO ASSIST THE EMPEROR IN
BAVARIA, ABANDONS HIS CAUSE.

No sooner were the eyes of Cardinal Fleury closed than the king took the reins of government into his own hands: there was no part, not even the minutest, of the administration, of which he was not master. He was firmly resolved to accept of an honorable peace, or to prosecute with vigor a necessary war; and to adhere inviolably to his word.

He made no change in the measures already taken; the same generals commanded.

It is pretended by some, that the same mistakes were committed in 1743, which had occasioned the loss of Bohemia and Bavaria in the preceding year; that the Bavarian and French forces being divided into too many separate bodies, mouldered away by degrees. The mortality which got footing among the French troops in Bavaria was the beginning of their misfortunes. It often happens that more soldiers perish through inaction than fatigue, and great care should be taken to hinder any sickness that chances to find its way into a camp, from spreading. The French soldiers spent the latter part of 1742, and the beginning of 1743, crowded together around German stoves, which alone destroyed them in great

numbers; but that which was their greatest detriment was a misunderstanding between Marshal Broglie and Count Seckendorff, who then commanded the Bavarians. The latter, who acted under Prince Charles, would have had the former weaken himself to send him reinforcements, but the marshal refused them as often as they were asked, having enough to do in opposing Prince Lobkowitz. The emperor, who was then in Munich, could not reconcile them. Broglie was said in the public papers to have forty thousand men, but he had not more than twenty thousand.

Prince Charles of Lorraine, with his united forces, obtained at this time a complete victory over the Bavarians, in the neighborhood of the river Inn, not far from Branaw. He cut off eight thousand men, and took prisoners General Minuzzi, and three other general officers. The remains of the defeated army retired to Branaw, and all Bavaria was soon opened to the incursions of the Austrians. Maria Theresa received this news at Prague the very day on which she was crowned; a ceremony with which her rival had been shortly before honored in the same place. There was nothing now to oppose the progress of Prince Charles: he took Dingelfing, Deckendorff, and Landau, upon the Isar; and made a number of prisoners everywhere.

On the other side, Prince Lobkowitz possessed himself of the Upper Palatinate, and Marshal Broglie retired toward Ingolstadt. The emperor once

more fled from his capital, and sheltered himself in Augsbourg, an imperial town; but he did not remain there long. As he quitted it, he had the mortification of seeing Colonel Mentzel enter at the head of his pandours; and these savages had the brutality to insult him in the public streets: he retired to Frankfort. This rapid course of events occurred in May and June.

The emperor's misfortunes daily increasing, he was reduced to the necessity of supplicating the queen of Hungary, whom he had been once so near dethroning; he offered to renounce all his claims to the inheritance of the house of Austria. The hereditary prince of Hesse undertook the management of this negotiation, and waited on the king of England, then at Hanover, with the emperor's propositions. King George's answer was that he would consult his parliament. Even this negotiation of the prince of Hesse served only to convince the emperor more clearly that his enemies meditated his expulsion from the imperial throne. The resource which he expected by addressing the queen of Hungary being denied to him, his next step was to declare his intention of remaining neutral, though in his own cause; and he therefore requested of her to let the shattered remains of his army quarter in Suabia, and to be regarded as the troops of the empire. He at the same time offered to send Marshal Broglie's army back to France. The queen answered that "she was not at war with the head of the empire, and since,

according to the directions of the Golden Bull, which had been violated by his election, she had never acknowledged him as such, she should cause his troops to be attacked wherever they were found; yet as to himself, she would not oppose his taking refuge in any part of the imperial territories, Bavaria excepted."

At the same time Lord Stair directed his march toward Frankfort with an army of upward of fifty thousand men, consisting of English, Hanoverians, and Austrians. The king of England arrived at the army with his second son, the duke of Cumberland, having on his way passed by Frankfort, the asylum of the emperor, whom he still acknowledged as his sovereign in the empire, and yet against whom he waged war in hope of dethroning him.

The Dutch at length consented to join the allied army with twenty thousand men, believing that now they could take such a step without any hazard; and that, without declaring war against France, they might help to crush her. They sent six thousand men into Flanders to replace the Austrian garrisons, and prepared to send fourteen thousand men into Germany; but they proceeded in the true spirit of the republic very slowly: they either believed, or at least pretended to believe, at The Hague, Vienna, and London, that France was now drained both of men and money. One of the principal members of the states of Holland affirmed that France could not raise more than one hundred thousand men, and that

her whole current specie did not exceed two hundred millions of livres. This was abusing the people strangely; but it is necessary often to deceive them, to keep them in proper spirits.

The king of France, in the meantime, sent Marshal de Noailles with sixty-six battalions, and one hundred and thirty-eight squadrons, to attack the English wherever he could find them; and he resolved to send assistance to Don Philip in Italy, in case the court of Sardinia should refuse to come to an agreement. He maintained, besides, upon the Danube, a complete army of sixty-six squadrons and one hundred and fifteen battalions; and this force was strong enough to succor Eger on one side, and Bavaria on the other. Although but an auxiliary, he appeared everywhere as a principal; and the emperor, having retreated from Augsburg to Frankfurt, expected the decision of his fate from the fortune of his allies or of his enemies.

The quarrels of this prince, and other disputes to which it gave rise, now employed not less than ten armies at once; five in Germany, and as many in Italy. There was, first, M. Broglie's army in Germany, which defended Bavaria: it was made up, in the main, of all those regiments which had taken the route of Bohemia, and of half of M. Belle-Isle's troops, which, joined to the Bavarians, made a very formidable body: the second was that of Prince Charles, which pressed hard upon Broglie, and ravaged Bavaria: the third was that of M. de Noailles

upon the Rhine, augmented with troops and recruits from M. Belle-Isle. To oppose Noailles, the Hanoverians, Austrians, and English were assembled to the amount of fifty thousand men, under the command of King George II. This was the fourth army. The fifth was fourteen thousand Dutch, advancing slowly, on the banks of the Main, to join the last; but they came too late.

The five armies in Italy were, first, that of the Infante, Don Philip, which had subdued Savoy: secondly, that of the king of Sardinia, part of which guarded the Alps, and part was joined with the Austrians; which latter may be reckoned a third army, as they spread themselves from the Milanese to the neighborhood of Bologna: these were opposed by Count de Gages, a Fleming by birth, whose merit had raised him to the command of the Spanish army, in the place of the duke de Montemar: the fifth was that of Naples, tied up from acting by a treaty just then expiring. To these ten armies may be added an eleventh, that of Venice, kept on foot purely to secure that republic from the insults of the others.

These vast appearances kept all Europe in suspense. It was a game played from one end to the other of this quarter of the globe by all her princes; in the course of which they hazarded nearly upon equal terms the blood and treasure of their subjects, and held fortune long in the balance by a variety of great achievements, vast mistakes, and consider-

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able losses. Very little land is to be gained in Italy, even with great difficulty; for, on the side of Piedmont, a single rock may cost a whole army; and about Lombardy the country is entirely intersected with rivers and canals.

Count de Gages had passed the Panaro, and attacked Count Traun: they fought a battle at Campo Santo in the month of February, for which *Te Deum* was sung both at Madrid and Vienna: it cost the lives of many brave soldiers on both sides, but gave superiority to neither: in Germany they expected more decisive actions.

Marshal de Noailles, who commanded against the king of England, had borne arms ever since he was fifteen years of age: he had been at the head of the army in Catalonia, and, besides, passed through all the offices of civil government: he had directed the finances in the beginning of the regency: he had been general of an army, and minister of state; and in all his employments was remarkable for the cultivation of letters; a conduct formerly common among the Greeks and Romans, but rarely to be found in modern times in Europe. This general had, by a superior manœuvre, made himself master of the country: he flanked the army of the king of England, and kept the Main between them; at the same time, by securing all the avenues to their camp, both above and below, he cut off all their subsistence.

The king of England took post at Aschaffenburg,

a town on the Main, belonging to the elector of Mentz: he took this step against the opinion of the earl of Stair, and soon repented he had done so; for he now saw his army blocked up and starved by M. de Noailles: the soldiers were reduced to half their daily allowance, and the king saw himself under a necessity of retreating, to look for provisions at Hanau, on the road to Frankfort; but in this case he found he must be exposed to the fire of the battery which the enemy had raised upon the Main: he was therefore obliged to make a precipitate retreat with an army weakened by desertion, and whose rear was in danger of being cut off by the French; for M. de Noailles had taken the precaution to throw bridges over the river between Dettingen and Aschaffenburg, on the road to Hanau; and this, to complete their error, the allies had not prevented. June 26, the king of England caused his army to decamp at midnight without beat of drum, and ventured upon a most precipitate and dangerous march, which indeed he could by no means avoid.

Count de Noailles, who encamped upon the side of that river, was the first who perceived this motion, of which he instantly apprised his father: the marshal rose, and saw the English marching, as it were, to their destruction in a narrow road, with a mountain on one side, and a river on the other: he immediately caused thirty squadrons, consisting of the king's household, of the dragoons, and hussars, to

advance toward the village of Dettingen, before which the English would be compelled to pass. Four brigades of infantry, with that of the French guards, were marched over two bridges, with orders to remain posted in the village of Dettingen, on one side of a hollow way, where they could not be perceived by the English, of all whose motions the marshal had a clear view. M. de Vallière, a lieutenant-general, who had made the artillery as serviceable as could be possible, held the enemy in a defile, between two batteries, which played upon them from the opposite bank. They were to pass through a hollow way, which lies between Dettingen and a small rivulet. The French were not to fall on them but at a certain advantage, as the very situation of the ground was a snare from which they could not escape. The king of England was in danger of being taken. In short, it was now one of those critical moments that might have put an end to the war.

The marshal recommended the duke de Grammont, his nephew, a lieutenant-general, and colonel of the guards, to wait in that position till the enemy should fall into his hands, which was unavoidable. In the meantime, he went to reconnoitre a ford, in order to advance some more cavalry, and more clearly to examine the posture of the enemy. Most of the officers say he had better have staid at the head of his army, to enforce obedience; but, had the day been successful, this error would not have

been laid to his charge. Be that as it may, he sent five brigades to secure the post of Aschaffenburg; so that the English were surrounded on all sides.

All these measures were disconcerted by a moment's impatience. The duke de Grammont, imagining that the first column of the enemy had already passed, and that he had only to fall upon their rear, which could not withstand him, caused his troops to advance from the hollow way. The duke de Chevreuse represented to him the danger of this unseasonable courage; the count de Noailles entreated that he would only wait a moment for the return of his father; the duke de Grammont, whose motions were already perceived by the English, thought he should not retire; therefore, quitting the very advantageous post, which he should by all means have held, he advanced with a regiment of guards, and Noailles' infantry, into a small field, called the Cockpit. The English, who were filing off in order of battle, soon formed: their whole army consisted of fifty thousand men, and they were opposed by thirty squadrons and five brigades of infantry. Thus the French themselves fell into the very snare they had laid for the enemy, whom they attacked in disorder, and with unequal force. The cannon which M. de Vallière had planted upon the Main raked the enemy's flank, and that of the Hanoverians in particular; but they had batteries on the other hand which took the French army in front. The advantage of cannon, which is very great, was

soon overbalanced; the artillery on the banks of the Main being rendered useless, as in the confusion it must have annoyed the French themselves, in case of its being properly served. Marshal de Noailles returned the moment the fault had been committed, and all he could do was to endeavor to repair it by the courage of his troops. The king's household and the carbineers, at the first onset broke through two whole lines of the enemy's cavalry; but they formed again instantly, and the French were surrounded. The officers of the regiment of guards marched on boldly at the head of a small body of infantry: twenty-one of these were killed on the spot, as many more wounded dangerously, and the regiment of guards was entirely routed.

The duke de Chartres, the prince de Clermont, the count d'Eu, and the duke de Penthièvre, though so very young, exerted their utmost endeavors to put a stop to the disorder. The count de Noailles had two horses killed under him, and his brother, the duke d'Ayen, was thrown from the saddle.

The marquis de Puységur, son of the marshal of that name, harangued the soldiers of his regiment to encourage them; followed and rallied, as much as in his power, those that fled; nay, some of them, who would not stand, but cried out for each man to save himself, he killed with his own hand. The princes and dukes de Biron, Luxembourg, Boufflers, Chevreuse, and Peguiny advanced at the head of the brigades they met with, and, leading them on, pene-

trated into the enemy's lines. On the other hand, nothing could abate the courage of the king's household troops and the carbineers. Here one might see a company of guards and two hundred musketeers; there a few troops of cavalry advancing with some light horse, with others following the carbineers, or horse-grenadiers, running upon the English, sword in hand, with more bravery than discipline; nay, so little was discipline observed among them that about fifty musketeers heroically forced their way through a regiment of horse, called the Scotch Greys; a regiment highly esteemed by the English, made up of picked men, choicely mounted. We may well imagine what must be the fate of fifty young fellows poorly mounted, against a body by whom they were so considerably outnumbered. They were almost all killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The son of the marquis de Fénelon was taken prisoner in the last rank of the regiment of Scotch Greys; twenty-seven officers of the king's household troops perished in this fight, and sixty-six were dangerously wounded: among the latter were Count d'Eu, Count d'Harcourt, Count de Beavron, and Duke de Boufflers; Count de la Mothe-Houdancourt, gentleman-usher to the queen, had his horse killed under him; and, after being trampled almost to death by the cavalry, was carried off the field almost dead; the arm of the marquis de Gontaud was broken; the duke de Rochechouart, first lord of the bedchamber, having been twice wounded,

and continuing still to fight, was at length killed on the spot; as were also the marquises de Sabran, Fleury, the count d'Estrades, and the count de Ros-tiang. The death of a count de Boufflers, of the branch of Ramiencourt, should not be overlooked among the singularities of this unfortunate day: he was only ten years and a half old; his leg being broken by a cannon ball, he sustained the stroke, the amputation of his leg, and even met death itself with amazing intrepidity. So much youth, tempered with such valor, melted into tears all who were witness of his misfortune!

Nor was the loss among the English officers much less considerable. The king of England fought both on foot and on horseback, both at the head of the cavalry and infantry. The duke of Cumberland was wounded by his side, and the duke d'Arenberg received a musket-ball in his breast: the English lost several general officers. The unequal battle lasted three hours. Courage alone was opposed to valor, number, and discipline. At length Marshal de Noailles ordered a retreat; nor was it done without some confusion. The king of England dined upon the field of battle, and then retired, without giving himself time to carry off the wounded, of whom he left about six hundred behind him, who were recommended by Lord Stair to M. de Noailles' generosity. The French treated them like their countrymen: they behaved to each other with civility and respect; while, on the other hand, during this whole war, the

Hungarians, less civilized indeed, showed nothing but a spirit of rapine and barbarity.

The two generals wrote letters to each other, that plainly show to what height politeness and humanity may be carried amidst all the horrors of a war. There are these words in a letter written by Lord Stair to Marshal de Noailles from Hanau, and dated June 30: "I have sent back all the French prisoners of whom I had any knowledge; and I have given orders for the release of all such as may have fallen into the hands of the Hanoverians. You will, I hope, permit me to thank you for the very generous behavior you have shown, which is, indeed, entirely conformable to the high opinion I always professed to entertain for monsieur the duke de Noailles. I am, sir, particularly obliged to you for the care you have so benevolently taken of our wounded."

Nor was this greatness of soul peculiar to the earl of Stair and the duke de Noailles. There was an act of generosity of the duke of Cumberland, that above all others ought to be handed down to posterity. A musketeer, named Girardeau, being dangerously wounded, was brought near his highness' tent; surgeons were much wanting; those they had were taken up elsewhere: they were now going to dress the duke's leg, which had been wounded in the calf by a musket-ball: "Begin," said he nobly, "with the wound of that French officer; he is more dangerously hurt than I am, and stands in need of more assistance; I shall as yet want

none." The loss of both armies was nearly the same: there were two thousand two hundred and thirty-one men of the allies killed and wounded. This computation was taken from the account of the English, who seldom diminish their own loss, and never augment that of the enemy.

This battle was not unlike that of Czaslau in Bohemia, or that of Campo Santo in Italy. Great exploits were performed, much blood spilled, and neither side reaped any advantage. The loss of the French was considerable in blasting, by a precipitate and disorderly warmth, the fruits that might have been otherwise gathered from the finest disposition imaginable: the battles of Crécy and Poitiers had been lost by conduct of a similar nature. The king of England, who here acquired great honor, reaped no other benefit from the victory, than that of hastily retiring from the field of battle to seek subsistence at Hanau. The author of this history, meeting with Lord Stair some weeks after the battle, took the liberty to ask him his opinion of it: "It is my opinion," said that general, "that you have committed one fault, and we two: yours was passing the hollow way, not having patience to wait: our two were, exposing ourselves first to the danger of being all destroyed; and secondly, not having pursued our victory, by making a proper use of it."

Never had man greater reason to complain than M. de Noailles, who saw himself by one precipitate movement cut off from all the glories of a battle that

might have finished the war: yet he did not complain; he recriminated upon nobody; his regard for his nephew outdid the care of his own justification. He satisfied himself with barely representing to the king, his master, in a letter as wise and eloquent as it was instructive, the great necessity there was for re-establishing a proper discipline.

Many French and English officers went, after this action, to Frankfort, a town that always remained neutral, where the emperor had then retired, who saw one after another Lord Stair and Marshal de Noailles, without manifesting to them any other sentiments than those of patience in his days of evil fortune.

Marshal Broglie's precipitate retreat from the frontiers of Bavaria, which was made about the same time, was attended with consequences still more dreadful to the emperor than those of the battle of Dettingen. Marshal Broglie, who had long been dissatisfied with Marshal Seckendorff, the Bavarian general, had always declared both by letter and word of mouth, even before the campaign, that he could not keep Bavaria. He departed from there about the end of June, at nearly the same time that the emperor, believing himself no longer safe at Augsburg, took shelter at Frankfort, where he arrived June 27, at night, being the very day on which the battle was fought.

Marshal de Noailles found the emperor infinitely chagrined on account of Marshal Broglie's retreat;

and, to augment his misfortunes, he was without subsistence for himself and his family, in an imperial town, where nobody would advance him anything, though the head of the empire. Marshal de Noailles gave him forty thousand crowns on a letter of credit, being certain that the king would not disapprove such an action.

Marshal Broglie had, on his retreating, left the emperor still possessed of Straubing, Ingolstadt on the Danube, and Eger on the Eger, upon the confines of the Upper Palatinate, and they were all blockaded. There were, moreover, some Bavarian troops still in Branaw, which place the Austrians had long neglected to besiege in form; but they being masters of all the country round, it soon capitulated. Straubing, in which were twelve hundred French, immediately followed its example. These twelve hundred men were conducted to the main body of the army, which was then quitting Bavaria, and directing its march toward the Neckar. When at length they arrived there, their number was dwindled away at least twenty-five thousand, more of whom were lost by desertion and sickness than by the sword of the enemy.

The putting of the emperor Charles VII. in possession of Vienna or Prague was now no longer meditated. They were obliged to turn their views to the defence of the French frontiers, threatened by two victorious armies, that of Prince Charles and the king of England. France had, in three cam-

paigns, sent to the emperor's assistance in Bavaria and Bohemia, upward of a hundred and twenty-five thousand fighting men; out of all which Marshal Broglie brought back about thirty thousand. The emperor, plunged in the deepest despair, demanded of the king that Marshal Broglie should be sent into exile: his majesty thought himself under the necessity of giving his griefs that satisfaction; of giving that weak and ineffectual consolation to his misfortunes.

One would be apt to think that there must have been some radical defect in the conduct of this grand enterprise, in which such repeated efforts had proved futile and abortive. Perhaps the failure arose from the fact that the Bavarian emperor had neither strong towns, nor good troops in his dominions; his authority over the French army was foreign and confined; and his bad state of health rendered him incapable of pushing the war vigorously against an enemy which was daily acquiring power; all these points considered, they were certainly much to his disadvantage. A prince who attempts to set on foot such vast enterprises should be able to act upon his own foundation; for never did any prince make a very important conquest solely by the help of another person.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EMPEROR CHARLES VII. UNDERGOES FRESH DISGRACES — A NEW TREATY AMONG HIS ENEMIES — LOUIS XV. SUPPORTS, AT ONE AND THE SAME TIME, THE EMPEROR, THE INFANTE, DON PHILIP OF SPAIN, AND PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD, WHO ATTEMPTS TO ASCEND THE THRONE OF HIS ANCESTORS IN ENGLAND — THE BATTLE OF TOULON.

THE emperor remained at Frankfort, to all appearances without either allies or enemies, nay, indeed without subjects. The queen of Hungary had caused all the inhabitants of Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate to take an oath of allegiance to her, against which exacted oath the Bavarian emperor in Frankfort protested. A printer in the town of Stadambhof was condemned to be hanged in the market-place for having printed this protest made by his sovereign. Nor did they stop at these insults; for shortly after the council of Austria presented to the imperial diet, even in the town of Frankfort, memorials, wherein the election of Charles VII. was treated as null, and absolutely void. The new elector of Mentz, high chancellor of the empire, to which dignity he had been advanced against the emperor's will, registered these in the Protocol of the empire. Charles could only complain, which he did by written remonstrances, while, to finish his disgrace, the king of England, as elector of Hanover,

wrote him that the queen of Hungary and the elector of Mentz were in the right. In fine, they talked of forcing him to abdicate the imperial throne, and to resign it in favor of the duke of Tuscany.

In the meantime, the emperor having declared himself neutral, the allies were stripping him of his dominions; so that the king of France, who had on his account engaged in the war, had more reason than ever to proclaim that he would no longer meddle with the affairs of the empire; and this was pronounced as his resolution solemnly by his minister at Ratisbon, July 6. Such a disposition might, at any other time, have produced a separate peace; but England and Austria wanted to improve their advantage. These powers aimed at compelling the emperor to request that his enemy, the grand duke of Tuscany, should be advanced to the dignity of king of the Romans; and they also flattered themselves with hopes of being able to penetrate into Alsace and Lorraine. Thus do we see an offensive war begun at the gates of Vienna, turned into a defensive one on the banks of the Rhine.

On August 4, Prince Charles made a lodgment upon an island in that river near old Breisach: on the other side, some Hungarian parties had advanced beyond the Sarre, and committed some outrages on the frontiers of Lorraine. The same Mentzel who had been the first that took Munich, had the insolence to issue a declaration or manifesto, dated August 20, and addressed to the inhabitants of Alsace, Bur-

gundy, Franche-Comté, and the three bishoprics, inviting them to return, as he called it, to the obedience to the house of Austria: he also threatened to hang up all such of them as should take up arms against him, but that he should first compel them, with their own hands, to cut off their noses and ears. Such brutal ferocity produced only contempt: the frontiers were well guarded, and a detachment from Prince Charles's army having passed the Rhine, were cut in pieces, August 4, by Count de Béranger.

About the end of July the army under Marshal de Noailles encamped in the neighborhood of Spire. Count Maurice of Saxony was in Upper Alsace, at the head of a corps drawn from the remains of Broglie's army, and some troops drafted from the frontier towns. The duke d'Harcourt commanded on the Moselle. The marquis de Montal defended Lorraine. Nor was it sufficient to guard the frontiers only; an open war with England was foreseen, and also with the king of Sardinia, who had not as yet indeed concluded a definitive treaty with the court of Vienna, but was not therefore the less closely attached to its interest.

The king of France, now deserted by Prussia, was in much the same situation as his great-grandfather had been formerly, united with Spain, against the forces of a new house of Austria, England, Holland, and Savoy. He therefore caused several ships of war to be built and fitted out forthwith at Brest;

he augmented his land forces, and reinforced Don Philip with twelve thousand men: how small an assistance when compared to the numbers he had lavished in the service of the Bavarian emperor! but in effect more useful, because they seconded the enterprises of a young prince who depended upon the power of Spain to secure him an establishment. The king, not content with succoring his allies, and securing his frontiers, resolved also in person to head his army in Alsace; and to that end had caused his field equipage to be got in readiness. He acquainted Marshal de Noailles with his design, who answered him in these words: "Your majesty's affairs are neither so prosperous nor so declining as to require your taking such a step at present." He advanced other reasons, and the king admitted them, being determined to make the next campaign afterward.

Out of the various conquests the French arms had made for the emperor, there now remained to him only Eger in Bohemia, and Ingolstadt in Bavaria, on the banks of the Danube.

The extremities to which the French in Eger were reduced by far exceeded what they had so cruelly suffered in Prague. For eight months they had scarcely tasted any bread, and if any of the soldiers ventured but ever so little into the country to gather pulse they were killed by the pandours. They had neither provisions, money, nor hope of being assisted. The marquis de Herouville, who commanded in the town with six battalions, caused some temporary

money to be coined, as had been formerly done at the siege of Pavia in the reign of Francis I. This of Eger was a bit of pewter, valued at half a sou. It stood, indeed, in the place of silver, but could not remedy the want of provisions. The marquis Désaleurs sent them a convoy, but it was taken by the besiegers. The garrison was at length obliged to surrender as prisoners of war: the officers and soldiers were dispersed through Bohemia and Austria, where they found many of their countrymen. There had been more than nine thousand French taken in the course of three years, who found themselves very rigorously treated; the spirit of revenge being united to the severity of war, and sharpened by national animosity.

The defenders of Ingolstadt were more fortunate. M. de Grandeville, who commanded a garrison of about three thousand men, obtained not only liberty to retreat in safety, but even compelled General Bernklau, who besieged him, to grant a free passage to the French who were scattered in different towns in Bavaria under his command. This is the first instance of a garrison's capitulating for other troops besides themselves. In the meantime neither the king of England nor Prince Charles could make any impression on the Rhine against the French; and the remainder of the campaign justified what Marshal de Noailles had said to the king, that his affairs were neither flourishing nor desperate. All the belligerent powers were by turns agitated by fear and

hope; each had its losses and misfortunes to repair. Naples and Sicily were afflicted with the scourge of pestilence, and prepared for that of war; not without standing at the same time in fear of some conspiracies in favor of the house of Austria.

The king of Naples, having augmented his army to twenty-six thousand men, employed twelve thousand of them in securing the frontiers of Calabria against the progress of the pestilence, which was done by forming a chain of vast extent: the rest of his army remained on the borders of Abruzzo, waiting a favorable opportunity to act in conjunction with the Spanish army, then commanded by the duke of Modena and Count de Gages. The city of Naples, now put into a proper state of defence, no longer feared the insults or orders of the English captains of men of war. Don Philip, in Savoy, waited either to come to an agreement with the king of Sardinia, or to subdue him with the assistance of France. The king of Sardinia, after having long cautiously weighed the danger and advantage, imagined it now more to his interest than ever to join with Austria and England against France. Although he had assisted the cause of the queen of Hungary for more than a year, he had not as yet become her ally; he at length declared himself such, however, in a formal and efficacious manner, at Worms, on Sept. 13, 1743; a treaty of alliance which was founded entirely on the bad success of the French arms in Germany.

This monarch gained possession of the Tortonese,

the Valais, part of the Novarese, and the territorial superiority of the fiefs of Langres, by taking arms against the queen of Hungary's father; and by declaring on the side of the daughter he acquired Vigevan, with the remainder of the Novarese, Parma, and Placentia. The English, who had heretofore allowed him a subsidy, gave him by this treaty two hundred thousand pistoles a year, which is upward of four hundred thousands of livres: he was then at the head of thirty-six thousand men, and the English fleet under Admiral Matthews was stationed on the coast, and always at hand to second his undertakings; but he missed the fruits he might have gathered from this advantage, and verified the old maxim: "A half is sometimes better than a whole."

By this treaty the queen of Hungary ceded to him the marquisate of Finale, which belonged to neither of them: it was the property of the Genoese, who had purchased it of the late emperor for one million two hundred thousand crowns, for which no care was taken to reimburse them; for, though the king of Sardinia offered them that sum, it was only on condition that they should rebuild the castle which they had demolished, whereby they would have been at a much more considerable expense. This liberal disposal of other people's property gained France one ally more. Genoa had long been secretly attached to her service, and she now linked herself to it more closely than ever. The harbor of Genoa

might be of great utility, and the English fleet could not block it up always. Thus the king of Sardinia reduced the Genoese to the necessity of becoming his declared enemies, and opened the way to a dangerous diversion against himself; for Don Philip, having now a second time made himself master of Savoy, on Sept. 18, 1742, proposed to pass the Alps; and that the Spanish and Neapolitan armies should join in the Bolognese, or even in Lombardy.

The chance of war was therefore to decide whether the two brothers, Don Carlos, king of Naples, and the Infante, Don Philip, would penetrate into the midst of Italy; or whether, on the other hand, the king of Sardinia should, on one side, guard the passage of the Alps, while, on another, the queen of Hungary should seize upon the kingdom of Naples, although a manifest violation of the neutrality subsisting between her and Don Carlos.

In the meantime England and Austria reckoned that, in the approaching spring, they should be able to attack France in Alsace and Flanders; and the war was now about to be renewed on all sides with greater violence, without there being any open rupture, except that between England and Spain on account of the commerce in America; a rupture which seemed to have no relation to the interests which divided Europe: but yet it influenced them in a most essential manner.

The emperor Charles VII., stripped of everything, had now no seeming resource left; yet the king of

France prepared really to assist him; and the king of Prussia, notwithstanding the Treaty of Breslau, and the defensive alliance subsisting between him and the king of England, was yet more in the interest of the emperor, as he had no longer any room to doubt that the court of Vienna intended at the first fair opportunity to attempt the recovery of Silesia. The courts of France and Prussia were now again on the point of joining in the common cause, and for the interest of an emperor who seemed on every hand abandoned or oppressed.

In the beginning of the year 1744, the king of France determined to declare war against the king of England and the queen of Hungary: he had no longer any agreements to keep with the English, by whom his ships were continually insulted; nor with Austria, who threatened to carry the war into France, and would not give up a single prisoner, though the terms had been stipulated by cartel in 1741.

The first effect of this change was a secret and bold enterprise, which would have quickly given a new face to one part of Europe had it been successful.

The house of the Stuarts, which, for the space of fifty-four years, had pined in exile far distant from the kingdoms of which it had been stripped, had still many secret partisans in Scotland and Ireland; nor was it without some few in England. Prince Charles Edward, grandson of James II., and

son of that prince who has been so long known to all Europe by the title of "the Pretender," joined to all the ardor of youth and resentment of his condition, the most enterprising and determined courage: he had been often heard to say he would have either a crown or a scaffold. France, which had long been the asylum of that family, became now necessarily its chief support; and there was a probability that Louis XV. might, in his first campaign, have restored the emperor to his dominions, and the heir of the Stuarts to the throne of Great Britain. January 9 the young prince Edward left Rome, and set out on his expedition with a spirit of secrecy and diligence that marked him born for great enterprises: he concealed his journey from a brother whom he loved affectionately, and who would not have suffered him to proceed then without accompanying him. On January 13, he arrived at Genoa disguised like a Spanish courier, and the day after he embarked for Antibes, attended only by one servant, landed safely, and soon reached Paris; nor were the necessary preparations made in France, for conducting him to the British coast, carried on with less secrecy.

The efforts which France now made could hardly have been expected by England, considering the low state in which the French marine had been for some years sunk. She fitted out twenty-six ships of war at Rochefort and Brest, with incredible diligence, and a report was spread that this squadron was to join a Spanish fleet which had lain at Toulon

upward of two years, and where it was blockaded by Admiral Matthews. Twenty ships of war set sail from Brest, carrying four thousand land forces, with arms and ammunition in proportion; and they were joined between Ushant and the Sicily Islands by five sail from Rochefort, commanded by M. de Barail.

This fleet having entered the British channel, divided itself into three squadrons: the strongest, consisting of fourteen vessels, cruised off the coast of Kent; the second was to station itself between Calais and Boulogne; while the third bent its course toward Dunkirk. Count Saxe was at the head of this expedition. He embarked at Dunkirk on March 1, with nine battalions; as did Count de Chaila, with six more, the day following.

Prince Edward was on board the same vessel with Count Saxe, and for the first time had a sight of the desired land. But a violent storm arose, driving the transports back upon the French coast, and many soldiers perished while endeavoring to gain the shore. The young prince would have again attempted the passage with a single vessel. He imagined that his courage and resolution would gain him subjects the moment he should arrive in Great Britain. But the sea, as well as the dispositions made along the English coast to prevent his landing, hindered him from making the attempt.

The court of London was informed of this enterprise as early as the fifteenth of February. The Dutch,

as allies of King George, had already sent over two thousand men to his assistance, and were to furnish six thousand, according to their treaty of 1716. Admiral Norris, with a formidable squadron, was in the Downs, which present a continued chain of ports along the Kentish coast, where ships ride secure from bad weather. The militia was also raised; and thus miscarried an enterprise which had been conducted with more art than any conspiracy that had ever been set on foot in England; for King George knew there had been a plot, but could never discover the authors of it. No insight was gained in this matter from the persons who were taken into custody at London, and the government remained as before, involved in trouble and perplexity.

Everything contributed at this time to favor the undertaking. The English troops were abroad, distributed in different parts of the Austrian Netherlands. There was likewise another advantage attending it. It employed the English fleet, which was to reinforce Admiral Matthews, and it was also concerted that his fleet should be engaged by the men of war which France was to leave in the Mediterranean; which for that purpose were to join the Spanish fleet which was to sail from Toulon at the time that Prince Edward was landing in Great Britain.

There were now at Toulon sixteen Spanish ships of war, which were at first intended to escort Don Philip to Italy; but they had been blocked

up for two years by Admiral Matthews' fleet, which lorded it in the Mediterranean, and insulted all the coast of Italy and Provence. The Spanish gunners, being but indifferently skilled in the science they professed, had been for four months exercised in shooting at a mark, and their industry and emulation excited by prizes.

When these were supposed sufficiently expert, the Spanish squadron commanded by Don Joseph Navarro sailed from the port of Toulon. It consisted of but twelve sail, there not being sailors and gunners enough to man the rest. They were soon joined by fourteen French ships of the line, four frigates, and three fire-ships, commanded by M. de Court, who had all the vigor both of mind and body necessary to such a command, though fourscore years of age. Forty years before he had commanded as captain on board the admiral's ship in a sea-fight off Malaga, and there had been no naval engagement since in any part of the world, that of Messina excepted, which was fought in 1718. Admiral Matthews set sail to meet the combined squadrons of France and Spain. It may not be amiss to remark here that the rank of admiral in England does not answer to the dignity of admiral in France. There are three admirals in the English service, each of whom has his separate division, subservient to the orders of the lord high admiral, or the board of admiralty.

Matthews' fleet consisted of forty-five sail, five

frigates, and four fire-ships: and to the advantage of number they also joined that of having the wind; a circumstance on which the success in a sea-fight often depends, as much as a victory by land does upon the advantage of the ground. The English were the first who drew up a fleet for engaging in the manner at present practised; other nations have learned from them to divide their squadrons into van, rear, and centre. You are not to imagine that these divisions are three lines; on the contrary, they form only one. The van is to the right, the rear to the left, and the centre in the middle, so that the vessels never present more than one side.

This was the order of battle off Toulon. The shifting of the wind threw the Spaniards into the rear. Admiral Matthews, still taking advantage of the wind, fell upon them with his division. There should never be more space between the vessels than sixty fathoms; at this distance they are as close as they should be, and then one vessel can be in no danger of being attacked by many. But it is very difficult for a whole fleet to govern itself so as to observe this order exactly. The Spanish ships were too far from each other. Two of them were disabled by the very first broadsides; and Matthews had an opportunity of falling upon the Spanish admiral with several of his ships. This vessel, on board of which was Don Joseph de Navarro, was called the *Real (Royal)*; she carried a thousand men, and mounted one hundred and ten pieces of cannon;

her upper works were amazingly strong, the planks, together with the ribs, being at least three feet in thickness, so that they were impenetrable to a cannon-ball. It is also proper to take notice that the English fire more at the rigging than the hull, preferring disabling and seizing a ship to sinking her.

The Spanish admiral was at one and the same time attacked by the admiral and four ships of the line, who poured upon him jointly a most dreadful fire. Matthews depended upon making her an easy capture, relying on his own great experience in naval affairs, and the Spaniards not being used to them, as well as Navarro's being a land officer, redoubled his hopes. Every Spanish ship also being attacked at once by more than one of the enemy, there was a probability of their being overpowered. Every man on the deck of the *Royal Philip* was either killed or wounded. The captain of the admiral's ship was mortally wounded, and Don Navarro, being wounded in two places, was obliged to leave the deck.

Chevalier de Lage, a French officer in the Spanish service, and second captain of the admiral's ship, maintained the fight against five English vessels. Admiral Matthews was astonished at the quickness with which the Spaniards fired their lower tiers of guns, which violently annoyed everything that came within reach, so that he despatched a fire-ship to destroy her. These vessels are filled with gunpowder and other combustibles; and they fasten

on an enemy's ship with grappling irons. The moment they are fast together they set a match to the train of the fire-ship, while the crew hastens to the boat, and the captain is the last who enters it. In the meantime, the fire taking place, the ship is blown up by the force of the powder, together with the vessel to which it is grappled.

This engine of destruction was within fifteen paces of the *Royal Philip*, when some of the officers proposed to strike and surrender: "You have forgotten, then," said M. de Lage, "that I am on board!" and pointing with his own hand three pieces of cannon at the fire-ship, he discharged them, and the vessel was near going to the bottom. The unhappy captain, seeing his destruction inevitable, determined at least to avenge himself at the moment of his death. He ordered fire to be set to the train, hoping that he might yet work down upon the *Royal Philip*, and blow her up along with himself. But it was too late: the ship was soon in flames, and blew up within seven or eight feet of the Spanish admiral, the deck of which was covered with the wreck. M. de Lage says he saw the body of the English captain and some sailors reduced in a moment to a coal, not above two feet long, and as light as a cork. The *Royal Philip* did not receive the slightest damage from this violent explosion.

M. de Court, who hoisted his flag on board the *Terrible*, and fought in the centre, was at one time engaged with three ships within pistol-shot. He did

the enemy a great deal of mischief, and getting clear of them, bore down to the assistance of the Spanish admiral and fleet. The English could make themselves masters of only one Spanish ship, called the *Poder*, which was entirely dismantled. They had already sent some of their hands on board to navigate the vessel, and the remainder of her crew, consisting of four hundred Spaniards, were obliged to surrender. Matthews was at this time retreating; and the English on board the *Poder*, being busied in securing their prize, were themselves made prisoners. Superiority of numbers was of no service to the English fleet; for their rear, commanded by Vice-Admiral Lestock, was four miles distant. Whether Lestock, at variance with Matthews, would have willingly deprived him of the glory of the day, or whether Matthews did not choose to share with him that glory, is a question we cannot here decide. Be that as it may, a brisk wind springing up from the west in the night obliged the fleets to separate, and each drew off to repair its damage. The English retired into Port Mahon, the French into Cartagena, and the Spaniards into Barcelona.

This action of Toulon, like almost all sea-fights, that of La Hogue excepted, was quite indecisive. In these engagements it commonly happens that the only fruit of great preparations and indefatigable contention is the slaughter of many men, and disabling vessels. There were complaints from all par-

ties; the Spaniards supposed they had not been sufficiently supported, and the French accused them of want of gratitude. Though there was an alliance between the two nations, there had not always been unanimity. Their ancient antipathy was sometimes kindled in the breasts of the Spaniards, notwithstanding the agreement of their kings. On the other hand, Matthews preferred complaints against his vice-admiral to the government, and sent him home to be tried. He retorted the accusation upon the admiral, to whose bravery and conduct M. de Court publicly subscribed, and he repaid the compliment. If his fate was hard in being' accused of misbehavior by his own officers, it was, however, glorious for him to be acquitted by the enemy. However, to gratify the Spaniards, the French commandant was banished to his country-house, two leagues from Paris: and the English admiral being, after a long trial, brought in guilty, was, by a council of war, which is in England called a court-martial, declared forever incapable of serving the crown.

The custom of judging severely, and of stigmatizing unsuccessful generals, had been lately brought into Christendom from Turkey. The emperor Charles VI. had given two examples of it in his last war against the Turks, which war was looked upon by all Europe to have been as injudiciously planned as it was unfortunately fought. The Swedes, since that, condemned to death two of their generals, whose fate all Europe lamented, nor did this

severity make their domestic government happier or more respectable. A subject so important deserves to be dwelt upon a little.

The government of France, directed by principles of greater lenity, are satisfied with inflicting only a slight disgrace upon their general officers, for that very conduct which would induce other states to lay them in irons, or cut off their heads. To me it is very plain, that neither justice nor well-founded policy requires that the life of a general should depend upon bad success; surely unless he be a rebel or a traitor he will do his utmost, and there is no sort of equity in cruelly punishing a man who has acquitted himself to the best of his ability; nor is it, perhaps, sound policy to introduce the custom of persecuting a general who is unfortunate; because in that case, those who begin a campaign indifferently in the service of their natural prince, may be tempted to conclude it in that of the enemy.

The consequences, however, proved that the advantage in the Toulon engagement was on the side of France and Spain. The Mediterranean was left open, at least for some time, and Don Philip was easily supplied with provisions, which he much wanted, from the coast of Provence: but neither the French nor Spanish squadrons were able to make head against Matthews, when he returned to his station, having refitted his ships. France and Spain, being under the necessity of always supporting a very numerous army, have not that inexhaustible

supply of sailors which are the source of Great Britain's power. It was now more than ever evident that it was of vast importance to that crown to keep Minorca, and the loss of it was very prejudicial to Spain. It was a melancholy consideration that those islanders should have been able to deprive the Spanish monarchy of a port still more useful than Gibraltar; and which, from its situation, gave them always the power to harass, at one and the same time, Spain, Italy, and France. Spain, which possessed harbors in Africa, in spite of the Moors, yet could not hinder the English from keeping ports in her own dominions, and that against her will.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PRINCE OF CONTI FORCES THE PASSAGE OF THE ALPS — SITUATION OF AFFAIRS IN ITALY.

IN THE midst of all these struggles, Louis XV. declared war against the king of Great Britain, and soon after against the queen of Hungary, who in return declared it also against him in form; but these declarations were little more than additional ceremonies. Spain and Naples made war without declaring it.

Don Philip was at the head of twenty thousand Spaniards, under the command of the marquis de la Mina, and the prince of Conti had with him twenty thousand French; both these leaders inspired their troops with that confidence and resolution so neces-

sary for penetrating into a country where a single battalion may stop a whole army, where you are every instant obliged to fight among rocks and torrents, and where all these obstacles are heightened by the difficulty of convoys. The prince of Conti, who had served as a lieutenant-general in the unsuccessful war of Bavaria, young as he was, had acquired experience, and understood the consequence of those disappointments to which an army is exposed in almost every campaign. He had not as yet seen a campaign in Italy, where war is carried on in a very different manner from what it is in open countries; but he had prepared himself for this expedition by a constant application of ten hours a day, during the winter which he passed at Paris. He knew even the smallest rock, and was perfectly master of all that had been performed under Marshal Catinat and the duke of Vendôme, as if he had been present himself.

The first of April the Infante Don Philip and the prince of Conti passed the Var, a river which falls from the Alps and empties itself into the sea of Genoa below Nice. The whole country of that name surrendered; but, before they could advance any farther, they were under the necessity of attacking the entrenchments near Villafranca, and those of the fortress of Montalban, in the midst of rocks which form a long chain of almost inaccessible ramparts. There was no possibility of marching but through narrow defiles, and over frightful preci-

pices, exposed to the enemy's artillery. Full in the front of this fire they were obliged to climb up from rock to rock, and even on the Alps they had the English to encounter. Admiral Matthews, having careened his ships, returned to assume the empire of the seas: he landed with some of his men at Villafranca, who joined the Piedmontese; and his gunners served the artillery. But the prince of Conti concerted his measures so well, and his troops were so full of spirits, that they surmounted all these obstacles. The marquis de Bissy at the head of the French, and the marquis of Campo Santo at the head of the Spaniards, soon made themselves masters of the enemy's batteries, which flanked the passage of Villafranca. M. de Mirepoix and M. d'Argouges opened another way for themselves: they made four false attacks where they had no intention to penetrate; but M. de Bissy made two such brisk assaults against those places which he intended to carry; everything was so well concerted, so quick, and so vigorously pushed; M. d'Argouges, at the head of the regiments of Languedoc and of the Isle of France; and M. du Barrail with his regiment, made such prodigious efforts, that this rampart of Piedmont, above two hundred fathoms high, which the king of Sardinia imagined to be quite out of their reach, was carried by the French and Spaniards.

On the one side, M. du Châtel and M. de Castelar ascended through very narrow byways to an eminence called Mount Eleus, whence they drove the

Piedmontese; on the other side, the marquis de Bissy fought for two hours on the top of a rock called Monte Grosso. When the French and Spaniards had clambered up to the top of the rock, and saw that they must either conquer or die, they treated one another as brothers; they assisted each other with ardor; and, joining their efforts, they battered down the entrenchments of the enemy. This rock was defended by fourteen battalions, who had a secure retreat. One hundred and thirty officers of the Piedmontese, with seventeen hundred men, were taken prisoners, and two thousand were killed. The marquis de Suza, natural brother of the king of Sardinia, was obliged to surrender himself prisoner to M. de Bissy. The top of the mountain, on which the marquis du Châtel had taken post, commanded the enemy's entrenchments, so that at length they were obliged to fly to Onegalia, to the number of three thousand men, and embark on board Admiral Matthews' fleet, who was witness of the defeat. The count de Choiseul brought the king the news of this victory, in which this officer had distinguished himself. They advanced from post to post, from rock to rock: they took the citadel of Villafranca, and the fort of Montalban, where they found above one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, with provisions in proportion. But all this was no more than dividing the dominion of the Alps, and fighting on the top of high mountains.

While these passes were thus being forced in

favor of Don Philip, he was not yet much nearer the dominions to which he pretended in Italy. The duke of Modena was also as far from retaking the country of that name, as the Infante from penetrating to Parma and Milan. The Austrians and the Piedmontese were masters everywhere, from the top of the Alps to the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples. The court of Spain had recalled the duke of Montemar; and Count de Gages, under the duke of Modena, was gathering together the remains of the Spanish army, which was still retiring before the Austrians, who had already laid the province of Abruzzo under contribution. The king of Naples could no longer observe an unfortunate neutrality, which had been greatly abused, and would have only contributed to deprive him of his crown. He therefore set out for Naples, to put himself at the head of his army. The queen, who was then pregnant, withdrew to Gaeta, in the latter end of April, 1744; and it was even then proposed to remove her to Rome, in case of an unlucky blow, or of an insurrection in Naples, with which the Austrians affected to frighten him. Such was the vicissitude of affairs that the queen of Hungary, who three years before had been obliged to leave Vienna, thought herself very nearly making a conquest of the kingdom of Naples. Prince Lobkowitz had a manifesto ready, copies of which he afterward spread through the kingdom toward the month of June, wherein the queen of Hungary addressed herself to the inhab-

itants of the two Sicilies, as to subjects to whom she was granting her protection.

England at this time exerted herself more than ever in this queen's cause; she augmented her subsidies, and spent upon the war of this year — 1744 — two hundred and seventy-four million nine hundred and sixty-four thousand livres, French money; and this expense was augmented every year. She maintained a fleet in the Mediterranean which entirely ruined the trade of Provence: she recalled the troops that fought at Dettingen to Flanders; and these, joined to the Flemish and Dutch regiments, formed, in the beginning of the campaign, an army of above sixty thousand men. Prince Charles, with the same number of forces, was coming to make another attempt to pass the Rhine. The emperor, whose neutrality was imaginary, while his misfortunes were but too real, preserved the shattered remains of his army under the cannon of the imperial city of Philipsburg, and waited for his fate at Frankfort, uncertain whether he should be maintained in possession of the imperial crown by France, or stripped of it by the queen of Hungary.

CHAPTER IX.

FIRST CAMPAIGN OF LOUIS XV. IN FLANDERS — HIS SUCCESSES — HE LEAVES FLANDERS TO FLY TO THE DEFENCE OF ALSACE, INVADED BY THE AUSTRIANS, WHILE THE PRINCE OF CONTI CONTINUES TO FORCE A PASSAGE THROUGH THE ALPS — NEW ALLIANCES — THE KING OF PRUSSIA ONCE MORE TAKES UP ARMS.

SUCH was the critical and dangerous situation of affairs when Louis XV. began his first campaign. He had appointed Marshal Coigny to defend the passage of the Rhine with sixty-one battalions and one hundred squadrons. The Bavarian troops, consisting of nearly twelve thousand men, and paid by France, were commanded by Count Seckendorff, an officer in whom they at that time had the greatest dependence. Marshal de Noailles was general of the army in Flanders, which consisted of sixty-eight battalions and ninety-seven squadrons complete. Count Saxe was made marshal of France, and commanded a separate corps, composed of thirty-two battalions and fifty-eight squadrons, also complete: thus the whole French army in Flanders amounted to about eighty thousand fighting men.

There still remained on the banks of the Rhine and Moselle seventy-five battalions and one hundred and forty-six squadrons, exclusive of the army in Italy, thirty thousand militia, the garrisons, the light troops, the Bavarians, the Palatines, and the

Hessians. This situation, especially in Flanders, was very different from what it had been the preceding year at the death of Cardinal Fleury. The English might then have attacked the French frontiers with advantage; but now they came too late; and the Dutch, who refused to engage with them when this enterprise was easy, now took a share in it when it was become impracticable.

The king chose to make the campaign in Flanders rather than in Alsace, supposing that on the Rhine the war would be only defensive; whereas everything was disposed for making it offensive in the Austrian Netherlands.

As it was not known that he had been ready the preceding year to head his army in person, so it was a long time before the public knew that he was to set out for Flanders; with such secrecy did he conduct even those things which are generally preceded by a pompous parade. It is natural for a people who have been governed eight hundred years by the same family to love their king; besides, he had only one son, the dauphin, who was not yet married; all these circumstances gave rise to uncommon movements of zeal and affection, mixed with joy and fear, in the breasts of the inhabitants of Paris.

The king reviewed his army in the neighborhood of Lille, and made some new regulations for the establishing of military discipline, a thing difficult to maintain, and at that time greatly wanted. His aides-de-camp were Messrs. de Meuze, de Richelieu,

de Luxembourg, de Boufflers, d'Aumont, d'Ayen, de Soubise and de Peguigny. The enemy were commanded by General Wade, an old officer, who, like the earl of Stair, had been bred under the duke of Marlborough, and was well acquainted with every part of Flanders, where he had served a great many campaigns: the English had great expectations from his experience and abilities. The duke of Aremberg, of the house of Ligne, governor of Mons, and grand bailiff of Hainault, had the command of the queen of Hungary's troops. This nobleman had spent a great part of his life at the court of France, where his person was extremely liked: his inclination led him to live among the French, and his duty to fight against them. He was trained up under Prince Eugene, had served against the Turks and the French, and was not a little instrumental to the success of the battles of Belgrade and Dettingen, in both which he was wounded at the head of his troops.

Count Maurice of Nassau, who commanded the Dutch, was a descendant of the celebrated prince Maurice of Nassau, one of the three brothers to whom the United Provinces were indebted for their liberty and grandeur. This prince, dying before he could fulfil the promise of marriage which he had made to his mistress, Mme. de Mechelin, his posterity were deprived of the honors annexed to his house.

Those three generals had it in their power to oppose the king's designs, had they been united; but

the Dutch were temporizing and negotiating. On the one hand they were strongly pressed by the English to fulfil the treaty of alliance concluded between them in 1678, by which they are mutually bound to declare war, within the space of two months, against any power that should attack either of the two nations: on the other hand, they flattered themselves with keeping up the appearances of moderation, even in war itself; and were arming against the king, at the same time that they were afraid of provoking him. In this dilemma they deputed Count de Was-senaer to Louis, a person agreeable to the court of France, where he had been formerly in a public character, and where his frankness and complaisance, with other amiable qualities, had produced him a great many friends. The count used the most respectful and most insinuating language to the king; desiring protection for his person, and peace for Europe.

The king answered: "The choice, sir, which the states-general have made of you on this occasion, cannot but be very agreeable to me, from the knowledge I have of your personal merit. My whole conduct toward your republic, since my accession to the crown, has been such as should have convinced her how desirous I was to maintain a sincere friendship and perfect correspondence with her.

"I have long and sufficiently made known my inclination to peace; but the more I have delayed to declare war, the less shall I suspend its operations.

My ministers will give me an account of the commission with which you are charged; and after I have communicated it to my allies, I shall let your masters know my ultimate resolutions."

On May 18 the king made himself master of Courtray, a small town, which had an Austrian garrison. The day following, the Dutch ambassador saw him invest Menin, a barrier town, defended by the troops of the republic, to the number of fifteen hundred men.

Menin was far from being a little paltry town, as some journalists are pleased to call it: on the contrary, it was one of the celebrated Vauban's masterpieces. He built this fortification with some regret, foreseeing that one day we should be obliged to surrender it to strangers, who would enjoy the fruit of French ingenuity.

The king reconnoitred the place several times: he even approached within pistol-shot of the palisade, with Marshal de Noailles, Count d'Argenson, and all his court. The trenches were opened May 29. The king encouraged the pioneers by his liberality, ordering a hundred and fifty louis d'or to be distributed among those who worked at the attack toward the gates of Ypres, and a hundred to those who worked toward the gate of Lille. At the assault, commanded by Prince Clermont, they carried all the works with the utmost rapidity; and they drained the inundation made by the besieged. The covert-way was taken June 4; the next day the

town capitulated, and was the first which the king took in person. The commanding officer was permitted to march out with all military honors.

The king thought proper to demolish the fortifications of this town, in which such great sums had been expended. This was at once showing an instance of moderation to the states-general, by letting them see that he did not intend to make use of this fortress against them; and was taking some revenge, and teaching them to show a greater respect to France, by demolishing one of their barriers.

The very next day the king caused Ypres to be invested; and while preparations were being made for the siege, he assisted at a *Te Deum* in Lille, such as had never been seen on those frontiers. Three princesses of the blood, whose husbands, brothers, sons, or sons-in-law, were fighting in different places for the king, adorned this ceremony. The duchess of Modena had accompanied her nephew, the duke of Chartres, into Flanders, along with the duke of Penthièvre, who was on the point of marrying her daughter; while her husband, the duke of Modena, was at the head of the Spanish army in Italy. The duchess of Chartres had followed her husband; and the princess of Conti, whose son was at that time upon the Alps, and whose daughter was married to the duke of Chartres, accompanied those two princesses.

The prince of Clermont, abbot of St.-Germain-des-Prés, commanded the principal attacks at the

siege of Ypres. There had been no instance, since the cardinals de la Valette and de Sourdis, of a person in whom both professions, the gown and the sword, were united. The prince of Clermont had obtained this permission from Pope Clement XII., who thought fit that the Church should be subordinate to the army in the grandson of the great Condé. They stormed the covert-way of the front of the lower town; but this action has been censured as premature and too hazardous. The marquis de Beauveau, major-general, marched to the assault at the head of the grenadiers of Bourbonnois and Royal-Comtois, where he received a wound, which gave him the most excruciating pain, and proved mortal. His death was regretted by all the officers and soldiers, as a person whom they thought capable of one day commanding the armies of France; and lamented by all Paris, as a man of probity and wit; he was one of the most curious antiquarians in Europe, having formed a cabinet of very scarce medals; and was, at that time, the only man of his profession that cultivated this kind of knowledge.

The king ordered rewards to be given to all the officers of grenadiers who had attacked the covert-way, and carried it. Ypres soon capitulated. Every moment was improved; for while the king's troops were taking possession of Ypres, the duke of Boufflers reduced Fort Knock; and during a visit, which the king made after these expeditions, to the frontier towns, the prince of Clermont laid siege to Furnes,

which capitulated the fifth day after opening the trenches.

The allied army beheld the progress of the French, without being able to oppose it. The body of troops commanded by Marshal Saxe was so well posted, and so effectually covered the army of the besiegers, that they could not but be certain of success. The allies had no fixed, no determinate plan of operations; those of the French army were all concerted. Marshal Saxe was posted at Courtray, where he was able to prevent any attempt of the enemy, and to facilitate the operations of the besiegers. A numerous train of artillery, which was easily brought from Douay; a regiment of artillery, consisting of some five thousand men, full of officers capable of conducting a siege, and composed of soldiers, most of them very able artisans; in short, a very considerable body of engineers, were advantages which could not be enjoyed by nations that had hastily united only to wage war together for a few years. Establishments of this kind must be the fruit of time, and of the constant attention of a powerful monarchy. The French will ever be superior in a war whose operations consist chiefly in sieges.

In the midst of all these successes, advice came that the enemy had passed the Rhine toward Spire, within sight of the French and Bavarians; that Alsace was invaded, and the frontiers of Lorraine exposed. At first nobody would believe it; but nothing was more certain. Prince Charles, by

alarming the French in several places, and making different attempts at one and the same time, at length succeeded on the side where Count Seckendorff was posted, who commanded the Bavarians, Palatines, and Hessians.

This passage of the Rhine, which did such honor to Prince Charles, was entirely owing to his diligence, and the neglect with which the public voice in France reproached the general of the Bavarian troops. Count Seckendorff was on the other side of the Rhine in the neighborhood of Philippsburg, covered by that fortress, and able to awe any detachment of the enemy that should present themselves on that side. General Nadasti advanced toward him, while the other divisions of the Austrian army bordered the river lower down, and kept the French at bay. The Bavarians withdrew, and repassed the Rhine: Marshal Coigny was obliged to entrust Count Seckendorff to guard the banks of the river toward Germersheim and Rinsabeau: the count undertook to defend them: and this was the very place where Prince Charles passed the Rhine.

A colonel of irregular troops, named Trenk, had succeeded Mentzel, who was killed a few days before: this man advanced softly toward a place that was covered with willows and other aquatic trees, followed by several boats loaded with pandours, waradins, and hussars. He silently reached the other side of the river toward Germersheim: about six thousand men passed in this manner; and having

advanced half a league, at length they met with three Bavarian regiments, whom they defeated, and put to flight. Prince Charles caused a second bridge of boats to be built, over which his troops passed without opposition. Marshal Coigny being informed of this disaster, despatched his son and the marquis de Croissi in all haste with a detachment of dragoons. The marquis du Châtelet-Lomont followed them with ten battalions of the best regiments: they all arrived at a time when the enemy were forming themselves amidst the morasses; and had no other resource but their bridges, if they happened to be defeated.

Those three officers pressed General Seckendorff very hard to attack the enemy: they represented to him the important moment, the advantage of situation, and the ardor of the troops. The count at first promised to march, but afterward changed his opinion: in vain did they insist upon his complying: he answered that he was better informed than they; and that he must write to the emperor, upon which he left them, filled with indignation and surprise.

Thus the Austrian army, consisting of sixty thousand men, entered Alsace without the least resistance. In an hour's time Prince Charles made himself master of Lauterburg, a post of no great strength, but of the utmost importance. He made General Nadasti advance as far as Weissenburg, an open town, whose garrison was obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war: after this he

put a body of ten thousand men into the town, and in the lines around it.

Marshal Coigny, whose army extended along the Rhine, saw that his communication with France was cut off; that Alsace, the country of Metz, and Lorraine were going to be a prey to the Austrians and Hungarians; in short, there was no other resource left but to cut his way through the enemy, in order to re-enter Alsace, and to cover the country. Having resolved upon this measure, he instantly set out with the greatest part of his army for Weissenburg, just after the enemy had taken possession of it. He attacked them in the town and in the lines. The Austrians defended themselves with great bravery: they fought in the market-places and in the streets, which were strewed with dead bodies; and the engagement lasted six hours. The Bavarians, who had defended the Rhine so ill, repaired their misconduct by their valor: they were principally led by the count de Mortagne, at that time lieutenant-general in the emperor's service, who received ten musket shot in his clothes. The marquis de Montal headed the French; and at length they retook Weissenburg and the lines; but they were soon obliged, upon the arrival of the whole Austrian army, to retire toward Hagenau, which they were likewise forced to abandon. Flying parties of the enemy spread terror even to Lorraine, and King Stanislaus was obliged to quit that country with his whole court.

When the king received this news at Dunkirk,
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he did not hesitate a moment concerning the part he had to take: he resolved to interrupt the course of his victories in Flanders; and leaving Marshal Saxe with forty thousand men to preserve his new acquisitions, he flew to the assistance of Alsace.

After having caused Marshal de Noailles to set out before him, he sent the duke d'Harcourt with some troops to guard the straits of Pflazburg, and prepared to march at the head of twenty-six battalions, and thirty-three squadrons. This resolution of his majesty in his first campaign revived the drooping spirits of the provinces, disheartened by the enemy's passing the Rhine, and still more so by the preceding unlucky campaigns in Germany. The nation's zeal was so much the more excited, as in everything the king wrote, in his letters ordering *Te Deum* to be sung, in his declarations to foreign persons, in his letters to his family, the desire of peace, and the love of his people, were always his principal topics. This new style, in an absolute monarch, affected the minds, and at the same time roused the spirits, of the nation.

The king took his route by St. Quentin, La Fère, Laon, and Rheims, ordering his troops to march with all expedition, and appointing their rendezvous at Metz. During this march he augmented the soldier's pay and subsistence, an attention which increased the love of his subjects. He arrived at Metz August 5, and on the seventh tidings came of an event which changed the whole face of affairs,

obliged Prince Charles to repass the Rhine, restored the emperor to his dominions, and reduced the queen of Hungary to a more dangerous situation than any she had yet been in.

One would imagine that this princess had nothing to fear from the king of Prussia, after the Peace of Breslau; and especially after a defensive alliance, concluded the same year as the Treaty of Breslau, between that prince and the king of England. But the queen of Hungary, England, Sardinia, Saxony, and Holland, having united against the emperor by the Treaty of Worms; the Northern powers, and especially Russia, having been strongly solicited to come into this alliance; the progress of the queen of Hungary's arms increased daily in Germany; from all these circumstances, it was plain, sooner or later, that the king of Prussia had everything to fear. At length he determined to renew his engagements with France; the treaty had been signed secretly, April 5; and afterward a strict alliance was concluded at Frankfort, between the king of France, the emperor, the king of Prussia, the elector palatine, and the king of Sweden as landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. Thus the secret union of Frankfort was a counterpoise to the projects of the union of Worms, and on both sides they exhausted every resource of policy and war.

Marshal Schmettau arrived, on the part of the Prussian monarch, to inform the king of France that his new ally was marching toward Prague with

an army of eighty thousand men, and that twenty-two thousand Prussians were advancing as far as Moravia. At the same time advice was brought of the fresh progress which the Infante Don Philip and the prince of Conti were making in the Alps; but, notwithstanding the scaling of those mountains at Montalban and Villafranca, and the victories obtained among those precipices, they had not as yet been able to open a passage on that side: they could not advance, for want of subsistence, through those defiles, and over those rocks, where they were obliged to have the cannon dragged by soldiers, the forage carried on the backs of mules, and to walk, in several places, on the declivity of a mountain, the foot of which was washed by the sea, and where they were exposed to the artillery of the English fleet. Besides, the Genoese had not yet signed their treaty; the negotiations were still pending; so that the thorns of politics retarded the progress of the French arms. They opened themselves, however, a new road on the side of Briançon toward the valley of Suza, and at length they penetrated as far as Château Dauphin.

The bailiff de Givry led nine French battalions of the regiments of Poitou, Conti, Sales, Provence, and Brie, between two mountains. The count de Campo Santo followed him, at the head of the Spaniards, through another defile. Givry scaled a rock in broad day, on which there were two thousand Piedmontese intrenched. The brave Chevert, who was the first

that scaled the ramparts of Prague, was likewise one of the first that mounted this rock; but this was a more sanguinary action by far than that of Prague. The assailants had no artillery, and were exposed to the cannon of the Piedmontese. The king of Sardinia was in person behind the intrenchments, animating his troops. The bailiff de Givry was wounded in the very beginning of the action; and the marquis de Villemur, being informed that a passage of equal importance had been just then luckily found out, sent orders for a retreat. Givry obeys; but both the officers and soldiers were too greatly animated to follow his direction. The lieutenant-colonel de Poutou leaps into the first intrenchments; the grenadiers dart themselves one upon the other; and, what is hardly credible, they pass through the embrasures of the enemy's cannon, at the very instant when the pieces, having fired, were recoiling by their ordinary motion. The French lost nearly two thousand men, but not one of the Piedmontese escaped.

The king of Sardinia, in despair, attempted to throw himself into the midst of the assailants; and it was with difficulty he was withheld. Givry lost his life; Colonel Salis and the marquis de la Carte were killed; the duke d'Agenois, and a great many others were wounded: but it cost them a great deal less than they might have expected in such a situation. The Count de Campo Santo, who could not reach this narrow and steep defile where this furious engagement was fought, wrote to the marquis de la

Mina, general of the Spanish army under Don Philip: "Some opportunities will offer, in which we shall behave as well as the French; for it is impossible to behave better." I commonly transcribe the letters of general officers, when I find they contain any interesting matter, for which reason I shall insert here what the prince of Conti wrote to the king concerning this action. "It is one of the most glorious and most obstinate engagements that ever were fought: the troops have shown such valor as surpasses nature. The brigade of Poitou, with Monsieur d'Agenois at their head, have gained immortal glory.

"The bravery and presence of mind of M. de Chevert contributed chiefly to the advantage of the day. I recommend M. de Solemi, and the chevalier de Modène, to your majesty. La Carte is killed: your majesty, who knows the value of friendship, must be sensible how greatly I am affected by this loss." Let me be permitted to say, that such expressions from a prince to a king are lessons of virtue to the rest of mankind.

While they were taking Château Dauphin, they were obliged to force the place known by the name of the Barricades. This is a pass of about eighteen feet wide, between two mountains which rear their heads to the sky. The king of Sardinia had turned the river of Stura, which waters the valley, into this precipice: the post on the other side of the river was defended by three intrenchments and a covert-way.

It was necessary then for the French to make themselves masters of the castle of Demont, which had been built at an immense expense on the top of a rock, that stood by itself in the middle of the valley of Stura, before they could become masters of the Alps, whence they would have a view of the plains of Piedmont. These barricades were forced with great dexterity by the French and Spaniards, the day before the attack of Château Dauphin: they took them almost without striking a blow, by putting those who defended them between two fires. It was this extraordinary advantage, called the "day of the barricades," that had induced the marquis de Ville-mur to order a retreat from before Château Dauphin. This general officer and the count de Lautrec having executed the enterprise of the barricades with more than ordinary success, as it was not attended with the loss of any of the king's troops, was desirous to spare the effusion of human blood before Château Dauphin; because, after forcing the barricades, this fortress must fall of itself: but the bravery of the king's troops transported them farther than was expected, and in two days' time the valley of Stura, defended by the barricades, and by Château Dauphin, was laid open.

The surmounting of so many obstacles toward Italy, a powerful diversion made in Germany, the king's conquests in Flanders, and his march into Alsace, had removed the public apprehension, when an alarm of another kind threw all France into consternation.

CHAPTER X.

THE KING'S ILLNESS — HIS LIFE IS IN DANGER — AS SOON AS HE RECOVERS, HE MARCHES INTO GERMANY — HE LAYS SIEGE TO FREIBURG, WHILE THE AUSTRIAN ARMY, WHICH HAD PENETRATED INTO ALSACE, MARCHES BACK TO THE RELIEF OF BOHEMIA; AND THE PRINCE OF CONTI GAINS A BATTLE IN ITALY.

THE very day that *Te Deum* was sung at Metz for the taking of Château Dauphin, the king was attacked with some symptoms of a fever; this was on August 8. His illness increasing, turned to a malignant disorder; and on August 14 at night his life was thought to be in danger. He had a very strong constitution, hardened by exercise; but the most robust bodies are the soonest overcome by such distempers. The news of the king being in danger spread desolation from town to town, the people flocked from every side of the country about Metz, the roads were filled with men of every age and condition, who by their different reports increased the general inquietude.

On the evening of August 14, the queen received an express from the duke de Gevres, who informed her of the great danger his majesty was in. The queen, the dauphin, and his sisters, and all about them were in tears; the whole palace and town of Versailles resounded with lamentations. The royal

family set out post that very night, without the least preparations. The queen, who was accustomed to give away her money in acts of generosity, had not enough about her to defray the expenses of her journey: they were therefore obliged to send in the middle of the night to the receiver-general of the finances at Paris for a thousand louis d'or. The ladies at court followed the queen without a single servant; the staircases, the courtyards, and the avenues, were filled with innumerable crowds of people, who followed the queen's coaches at a distance, some with mournful cries, and others in silent consternation. The news was immediately spread through Paris; the people left their beds, and ran up and down the streets, without knowing where they were going; some repaired to the ramparts, where they might see the royal family pass by at a distance; others flock to the churches; there is no longer any distinction of the time of sleep, of waking, or of rest; all Paris is in consternation; the houses of the officers at court are besieged by a continual crowd; the people gather in the public squares, and break out into a general cry, "If he dies, it is for having marched to our assistance."

And indeed his illness was owing to his exposing himself too much, on his march, to the scorching heat of the sun; for the ray that struck him darted with such violence as to burn his thigh. They represented to themselves what he had done in his first campaign; their concern was not owing to the

misfortunes they might have reason to fear; no, they were too much grieved to have any foresight. Their affection deprived them of their understanding; strangers accosted one another and asked questions in church; the priest, as he was reciting the collect for the king's recovery, mingled his prayer with his tears; and the people answered him with sobs and lamentations. The poor gave charity to the poor, desiring them to *pray for the king*; and these carried the money they received to the foot of the altar. There were some people in Paris who fainted away, and others who were seized with a fit of illness, upon hearing that the king was in danger. The city magistrates appointed couriers, who every three hours brought them tidings of his condition. The superior courts sent to Metz: each had their couriers, who were passing continually to and fro. As they returned to Paris they were stopped on the road and at the gates, by a multitude of people in tears. The physicians who attended the king sent reports of the king's condition every three hours, to satisfy the people, who read those certificates of health with impatience and trembling.

The queen arrived at St. Dizier, where she found her father, Stanislaus, king of Poland, who had left the king's apartment the very moment that they despaired of his life. The general concern was then at the greatest height; they thought the king was dead, and the rumor was spread through all the

neighboring towns. But he was treated in a very proper manner by his physicians, to whom such disorders are familiar, and who, joining reason with experience, knew extremely well that the whole consists only in letting nature operate freely; that, when this method does not succeed, we must leave our days to Him who has counted them; all the rest being only a false art, which imposes on human weakness.

The queen arrived August 17, when they began to have hopes again of the king's life. The courier who brought the news of his recovery was embraced and almost suffocated by the people; they kissed his horse; they led him about in triumph through all the streets, which resounded with cries of joy: "The king is recovered." Strangers embraced one another; they ran to prostrate themselves in the churches; there was not so much as a company of tradesmen, but gave order for *Te Deum* to be sung. The king still kept his bed, and was very weak, when they gave him an account of these surprising transports of joy which had succeeded such scenes of sorrow. This affected him so much as to draw tears from his eyes; when deriving strength from his sensibility, he raised himself up in his bed and said: "Oh! what a pleasure it is to be thus beloved! and what have I done to deserve it?"

The first days of his recovery were distinguished by new advantages obtained by his arms in Italy. The prince of Conti, after having forced the barri-

cares of the defiles of Stura, which seemed impenetrable, and after the taking of Château Dauphin, luckily reached the mountain of Demont: here he took every intrenchment, and at length compelled twelve hundred men, who defended this last fortress of the Alps, to surrender at discretion.

This news pleased the king, and comforted him in his recovery. Though he had been at the point of death, yet he never lost sight of the interest of his people. Marshal de Noailles at that time had the chief command of the army in Alsace, reinforced by the troops from Flanders, which the king's illness hindered him from conducting in person. Before that misfortune, this prince intended to give battle to Prince Charles, who had sent his flying parties as far as Lorraine; and notwithstanding the fact that the troops had been retarded in their march, his attention was still taken up with the expectation of an engagement; so that when he thought himself in danger of dying, he said to Count d'Argenson, who never stirred from his pillow during the whole time of his illness: "Tell Marshal de Noailles from me, that while they were carrying Louis XIII. to the grave, the prince of Condé obtained a victory." But Marshal de Noailles could only fall upon the rear of Prince Charles's army, which was retiring in good order, and cut off about eighteen hundred men. In this skirmish, which cost France but two hundred men, the chevalier d'Orléans, grand prior of France, and M. de Fremur were dangerously wounded.

Prince Charles, after having passed the Rhine in spite of the French forces, repassed it, almost without any loss, within sight of a superior army. The king of Prussia complained most bitterly against their letting an enemy escape, who was coming to wreak his vengeance upon him. Here indeed they missed a lucky opportunity. The king's illness had retarded the march of the troops; besides, they must have passed through a difficult morass to attack Prince Charles, who had taken all his precautions, secured his bridges, and contrived everything that could facilitate his retreat, insomuch that he did not lose a single magazine. Having therefore repassed the Rhine with fifty thousand men complete, he marched toward the Danube and the Elbe with incredible expedition; and, after having penetrated into France as far as the gates of Strasburg, he hastened to deliver Bohemia a second time. The king of Prussia advanced toward Prague, and invested it on September 4; and it is somewhat remarkable, that General Ogilvi, who defended the town with fifteen thousand men, ten days after surrendered himself and his garrison prisoners of war. This was the same governor who gave up the town in less time in 1741, when it was stormed by the French.

An army of fifteen thousand Austrians being thus made prisoners of war at the taking of the capital of Bohemia, the remainder of the kingdom being subdued a few days after, Moravia invaded at the

same time, the French army returning to Germany, and other successes attending their arms in Italy; in such a situation one would have imagined that the grand European quarrel was on the point of being decided in favor of the emperor. This prince was preparing to return to Munich, as soon as he could receive intelligence that the road was left open, by Prince Charles's repassing the frontiers of Bavaria in his march to the assistance of Bohemia. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, having acceded to the union of Frankfort, had already three thousand men in the pay of the king of France, and was to furnish him with six thousand more. The elector palatine was always of that party. The elector of Saxony, who had been in the first alliance against the queen of Hungary, might now renew it; and to this he was strongly solicited by the king of Prussia, who promised him six circles in Bohemia. But as he kept two for himself, those of Königgrätz and Leutmeritz, by his treaty with France, there was very little left for the emperor: and this was a new partition of the territories of the house of Austria. He offered a principality in the empire to Count Brühl, prime minister of Saxony; at the same time he promised Father Quarini, the queen of Poland's confessor, the emperor's nomination to a cardinal's dignity; and among the pleasures of his successes he reckoned he should enjoy that of seeing a Jesuit introduced into the sacred college by a Protestant prince. The appearances were favorable, when

Prince Charles was yet in Alsace, and the king of France in full march to attack him with superior forces.

The king's sickness, as we have observed, disconcerted this project, which one would have imagined impossible to miss; though indeed its success seemed to be only retarded. Prince Charles's army was likely to diminish very much in his precipitate march toward Bohemia: and scarcely had the Austrians quitted Bavaria, when the king gave orders for the siege of Freiburg, the bulwark of Upper Austria, which Marshal Coigny invested on October 30.

The king's physicians all advised him not to expose himself to the unwholesome air of that province, after so dangerous an illness, but to return to Versailles. He did not mind their advice, being determined to finish the campaign. While he was at Strasburg, where his reception was one of the most magnificent ceremonies ever beheld, the marquis de Bissy arrived from Italy with the news of a victory. The Infante Don Philip and the prince of Conti had laid siege to Coni: the king of Sardinia, with a superior army, attacked them in their lines. Nothing could be better concerted than this prince's enterprise: it was on one of those occasions where it is good policy to hazard a battle. If he won the day, the French had few resources, and their retreat would have been attended with difficulty: if he lost it, the town was still able to hold out

in this advanced season, and he had a very safe retreat. The disposition of his army was one of the most judicious ever known; for having less cavalry by one-half than the besiegers, and more infantry by half, he made his attack in such a manner, that his infantry was to have the whole advantage of the ground, and his cavalry was not at all to suffer. And yet he was beaten; the French and Spaniards, notwithstanding the national jealousies which used constantly to rise on the cessation of danger, fought with all the harmony of allies who support each other, and with the emulation of rivals that are desirous of setting a mutual example. The king of Sardinia lost nearly five thousand men, and the battle; the Spaniards lost only nine hundred; the French had twelve hundred killed and wounded. Among the latter were the marquis de Senneterre, the marquis de la Force, who died of his wounds, the chevalier de Chauvelin, and the chevalier de Chabannes: the prince of Conti, who commanded as a general and fought as a soldier, had his cuirass pierced through with two shot, and two horses killed under him. Of this he made no mention to the king; but he enlarged a good deal on the wounds of Messrs. de Senneterre, de la Force, and de Chauvelin, on the signal services of M. de Courten, on those of Messrs. du Caylus, de Choiseul, de Beaupré, and of all those who had behaved gallantly; desiring they should be particularly rewarded. Among the prodigious number of offi-

cers, who deserved the commendation of the prince of Conti, he took particular notice in his letters of Messrs. de Montmorency, d'Aginois, de Stainville, of the marquis de Maillebois, quartermaster-general, and of M. de Chauvelin, major-general of the army. This history would be only one continued list of names, were I to recite all the brave actions, which, becoming common from their great number, are continually lost in the crowd.

This new victory was likewise one of those which are productive of losses, without being attended with any real advantages to the victors. In a little time, the rigor of the season, the great quantity of snow, the inundation of the Stura, and the overflowing of the torrents were of more service to the king of Sardinia than gaining the battle of Coni was to Don Philip and to the prince of Conti. They were obliged to raise the siege, and to repass the mountains, after they had weakened their army. It is generally the fate of those who fight toward the Alps, and have not the master of Piedmont on their side, to lose their armies even by their victories.

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CHAPTER XI.

THE SIEGE OF FREIBURG CONTINUED — STATE OF
AFFAIRS IN GERMANY AND ITALY.

IN this wet season the king was before Freiburg. Of all the sieges he had made, this was the most painful and the most dangerous. The French were obliged to turn the channel of the river of Treissau, and to open a new bed for it of fifteen thousand six hundred feet; but no sooner was this work completed than a dyke broke, and they were obliged to begin again. The besiegers were exposed to the fire of the castle of Freiburg, and obliged at the same time to drain two arms of the river. The bridges erected on the new channel were damaged by the waters, but the French repaired them again by night; the next day they marched up to the covert-way, where the ground was all undermined, and they were exposed to an incessant fire from the enemy. Five hundred grenadiers were killed or wounded; and two whole companies perished by the springing of the mines. This attack was commanded by the marquis de Brun, lieutenant-general, with the duke de Randan, and M. de Courtomer, major-generals, and M. de Berville, brigadier. The duke d'Ayen was there as the king's aide-de-camp; and Count Löwendahl, who would also be at the siege as a volunteer, was wounded in the head with a musket-shot. This foreigner was a native of

Denmark, and had been in the Russian service: it was he who took Ockzakow from the Turks. He spoke almost all the European languages, was perfectly acquainted with the different courts, their genius, the character of the people, and their different methods of fighting; however, he preferred the service of France, where, from his reputation, he was immediately received as lieutenant-general.

The besiegers were not the least discouraged, but carried the greatest part of the covert-way, and the day following they made themselves entirely masters of it, notwithstanding the bombs, pattering, and grenades, with which the enemy incessantly annoyed them. There were sixteen engineers at those attacks, who were all wounded: the prince of Soubise had his arm broken by a stone; and as soon as the king heard of it, he visited him several times, and saw his wounds dressed. This sympathy in their sovereign encouraged the troops; there was not one of them but forgot the extreme hardships of the siege, and generously ventured his life. Their ardor was redoubled, when they followed the duke de Chartres, the first prince of the blood, to the trenches and to the attacks. General Damnitz, governor of Freiburg, did not hang out the white flag till November 6, after a siege of two months. Count d'Argenson drew up the articles of capitulation, which facilitated the taking of the citadel of Freiburg. It was stipulated, as a favor granted from the king to General Damnitz, that he should have

leave to retire with his garrison, his sick and wounded, into the citadel. The governor did not perceive, till after he had signed the capitulation, that this permission would prove fatal to him, that the citadel could not hold such a number of men, that they would be crowded upon one another, and more exposed to the enemy's cannon, and, in short, that his sick must inevitably perish: he therefore begged of them not to grant him so dangerous a favor; but the permission had then become an obligation. A suspension of arms was, however, granted for twenty days; at the expiration of which term the citadel was besieged, and taken in seven days. The king used the same policy at Freiburg as at Menin; he demolished the fortifications of the town, neither wanting to keep possession of it, nor to run the hazard of its being retaken some day by the Austrians, and proving a thorn in his side. This was one of those towns which Louis XIV. had taken and fortified, and which he afterward was obliged to surrender. It is true, that, according to the plan so often defeated, Freiburg and Upper Austria were to be given to the Bavarian emperor: but it was then foreseen that he would not keep possession of this country. The king indeed was master of all Breisgau: the prince of Clermont, on his side, was advanced as far as Constance: and the emperor at length had the pleasure of returning to Munich. In Italy affairs had taken a favorable turn, though they advanced but slowly. The prince of Conti

demolished the fortifications of Demont, after he had taken it by storm. The king of Naples was pursuing Prince Lobkowitz through the pope's territories. In Bohemia great matters were expected from the diversion made by the king of Prussia; but they were disappointed; fortune changed sides again, as she had often done during this war, and Prince Charles drove the Prussians out of Bohemia, as he had made the French fly before him in 1742 and 1743. The Prussians committed the very same mistakes, and made the same kind of retreats, as they had reproached the French armies with: they successively evacuated the different posts which led to Prague, and at length they were obliged to evacuate Prague itself.

Prince Charles, after having passed the Rhine within sight of the French army, passed the Elbe the same year within sight of the king of Prussia. He followed him even into Silesia, and his flying parties advanced as far as the gates of Breslau. At length it became a question, whether the queen, who seemed to be undone in the month of June, would not recover Silesia in the month of December, the same year; and people were afraid that the emperor, who was but just returned to his desolate capital, would be once more obliged to leave it.

CHAPTER XII.

THE KING OF POLAND, ELECTOR OF SAXONY, DECLARES
IN FAVOR OF MARIA THERESA, AGAINST WHOM HE
HAD JOINED IN THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR
—AFFAIRS ARE MORE PERPLEXED THAN EVER IN
ITALY — THE KING OF NAPLES SURPRISED AT VEL-
LETRI, IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF ROME.

THE Austrians indulged themselves in these hopes from a new change in their affairs, which indeed was not one of the least revolutions in the whole war; namely, the step then taken by the king of Poland, elector of Saxony. This same prince, who at first had joined the king of Prussia against the queen of Hungary, was then entering into an alliance with this princess against Prussia, and had already furnished her with about twenty thousand men. In pursuing this measure he did not intend to declare war against King Frederick, but only to assist the queen, just as the states-general had joined with her against France, without declaring war. It did not appear that the elector of Saxony could have any great interest in making the queen of Hungary and the new house of Austria more powerful; nay, it seemed strange that he should choose rather to aggrandize that house, than to raise himself on its ruins; but a particular pique between him and the king of Prussia, the powerful negotiations of England, the apprehension of the rising grandeur of

the house of Brandenburg, and the expectation of humbling it, produced a total alteration of maxims in the court of Dresden.

The king of Prussia had scarcely set his hand to his treaty in April, 1744, with France and the emperor, when the king of Poland signed his agreement privately with the queen of Hungary in the month of May: he promised to assist her with thirty thousand men, and the queen yielded to him a part of Silesia, which she hoped to be able to recover, and to which that prince pretended some ancient rights, as all the German princes have some pretensions or other to the territories of their neighbors. England paid him a subsidy of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling every year, so long as he continued to defend the queen of Hungary. If it was a matter of surprise, that a king of Poland and elector of Saxony should be reduced to accept this money, it was a much greater surprise that England should be able to give it, when she had granted this very year five hundred thousand pounds to the queen of Hungary, two hundred thousand pounds to the king of Sardinia, and at the same time she paid a subsidy of twenty-two thousand pounds to the elector of Cologne, for permitting the enemies of the emperor, his brother, to raise troops against him in the territories of Cologne, Münster, and Osnabrück; to such a low pitch was this unfortunate emperor reduced! The passage of Prince Charles had struck the borders of the Rhine with terror and

amazement; and the English gold did the rest. At this juncture the Austrians, assisted by their new allies, the Saxons, menaced Silesia: they likewise threatened French Flanders with English and Dutch assistance.

The allied army in Flanders exceeded that which the king left under the command of Marshal Saxe by twenty thousand men. This general employed all those resources of war which are entirely independent of fortune, and even of the bravery of troops. To encamp and decamp at proper opportunities; to cover our own country; to maintain an army at the enemy's expense; to remove to their ground when they advance into yours, and thereby to oblige them to march back; in short, to baffle superior strength by skill; this is what is looked upon as one of the masterpieces of military art; and this Marshal Saxe did from the beginning of August till the month of November.

The quarrel about the Austrian succession was every day growing more obstinate, the emperor's fate more uncertain, the respective interests more complicated, while the successes of each party were generally counterpoised by those of the opposite side.

France had on her side in Germany, the emperor, the king of Prussia, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the elector palatine, by the Treaty of Frankfort: but the Prussians were then busy in defending themselves. Hesse was always ready to sell troops to

England, as well as France. The Palatinate was a country that rather wanted protection than was capable of giving assistance; and, besides, a great part of its territories had been pillaged by the enemy. Thus Austria was still the predominant power in Germany, especially having the assistance of Saxony and of the Dutch, with the troops and subsidies of Great Britain. The rest of the empire still neutral, though a great part were well affected to the house of Austria, in all their memorials complained of this civil war which laid waste their country.

The truth is, that the calamities which follow war had ruined a great many; yet, on the other hand, it is no less true, that this war really enriched Germany, while it seemed in appearance to ruin it. The French and English money, which was scattered among them with such profusion, remained in the hands of the Germans: Frankfort especially, so long the residence of the imperial court, of such a number of ministers, princes, and generals, had made immense profits; Dresden, which had furnished provisions a long time to the French and Austrian armies in their turn, had thereby enriched itself; and, upon the whole, this war had rendered Germany more opulent, and consequently must, sooner or later, render it more powerful. It was not so in regard to Italy, which, moreover, cannot form, for any considerable time, a powerful body like Germany. France had not sent to the Alps more than forty-two battalions and thirty-three squadrons,

which, considering the ordinary deficiency in the troops, did not compose above a body of twenty-six thousand men. The Infante's army was very near this number at the beginning of the campaign; and both of them, far from enriching a foreign country, drew their whole subsistence from the provinces of France. With regard to the pope's territories, on which Prince Lobkowitz was then encamped with thirty thousand men, they were rather ravaged than made rich. This part of Italy was going to become a bloody scene in this vast military theatre, which extended from the Danube to the Tiber.

The queen of Hungary's armies were very near making a conquest of the kingdom of Naples toward the months of March, April, and May, 1744; and, had it not been for the prudent conduct of Count de Gages, they would certainly have done it. This general, finding that his army was weakened, and he could have no recruits from Spain, incorporated Neapolitans into his old regiments, and these new troops grew inured to discipline: at length, by temporizing, he obliged Prince Lobkowitz, who perceived his army also wasting away, to retire from Abruzzo toward Rome.

This city had beheld, since the month of July, an engagement in her neighborhood between the Austrian and Neapolitan armies. The king of Naples and the duke of Modena were at Velletri, anciently the capital of the Volsci, and now the residence of the dean of the sacred college. The king of the two

Sicilies was lodged in the palace of Ginetti, which is considered a structure of magnificence and taste. Prince Lobkowitz made the same attempt upon Velletri, as Prince Eugene had done upon Cremona in 1702; for history is no more than a series of events repeated with some variety. Six thousand Austrians entered Velletri in the middle of the night: the main guard were slain: those who resisted, were cut in pieces; and those who made no resistance, were made prisoners: in short, terror and alarm were spread everywhere. The king of Naples and the duke of Modena were very near being taken; the marquis de L'Hôpital, ambassador from France to the court of Naples, awakes at the noise, runs to the king, and saves him; no sooner had the marquis quitted his house, when it was plundered by the enemy. The king, followed by the duke of Modena and the ambassador, puts himself at the head of his troops without the town; the Austrians break into the houses; General Novati enters the palace of the duke of Modena, where he finds M. Sabatini, that prince's minister, who had been formerly in the same regiment with himself. "Is it not true," said this minister to him, "that you grant me my life, and will content yourself with making me your prisoner?" While they were renewing their former acquaintance, the very same thing happened as at Cremona; the Walloon guards, a regiment of Irish, and another of Swiss, repulsed the Austrians, strewed the streets with dead bodies, and retook the

town. M. Sabatini, seeing this revolution from his window, said to the Austrian general; " 'Tis I now that grant you your life, and 'tis you that are my prisoner." A few days after, Prince Lobkowitz was obliged to retreat toward Rome, whither he was pursued by the king of Naples. The former marched toward one gate of the city, and the latter toward the other: they both passed the Tiber within sight of the people of Rome, who from the ramparts enjoyed the spectacle of the two armies. The king was received at Rome under the name of the count of Puzzuolo: his guards stood with their drawn swords in the streets, while their master was kissing the pope's toe. The two armies continued the war in the territory of Rome, whose inhabitants thanked heaven that the ravage extended no farther than their fields.

Upon the whole, we find that Italy was from the beginning the chief aim of the court of Spain; that Germany was the main object of the conduct of the court of France; and that on both sides the success was still extremely dubious.

CHAPTER XIII.

DEATH OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES VII. — THE WAR
BECOMES MORE VIOLENT THAN EVER.

IMMEDIATELY after the taking of Freiburg, the king returned to Paris, where he was received as the avenger of his country, and as a father whom they

had been afraid of losing. He remained three days in his capital, to show himself to the inhabitants, who wanted no other return for their zeal than the pleasure of beholding him, and this was what he could not in gratitude refuse: he dined in the Hôtel de Ville, whose square was adorned with those magnificent decorations which make us wish for more durable monuments: he was served at table, according to custom, by the provost of the merchants, and the dauphin by the first *Echevin*.

On this occasion, it was observed, that the inscriptions of the Hôtel de Ville, the triumphal arches, and illuminated figures, with which the town was adorned, were in Latin; though, indeed, these interpreters of the people's joy ought to be such as they can understand. In Germany, England, and the North, they pride themselves on making inscriptions and devices in French, which ought to be a hint to our nation to show the same honor to our language as is paid it by foreigners.

The king, on his return from the campaign, had no minister of foreign affairs, having been his own minister in the army. To fill this place, he chose successively two men who had no thoughts of it. The first was M. de Villeneuve, who, during his embassy to the Ottoman Porte, had negotiated a peace between the Turks and the last emperor of the house of Austria: he was old and infirm: he had been always reckoned a wise man; a character which he still maintained by his sensibility of his present con-

dition: having no ambition to deceive himself, or to imagine he had strength above his age, he refused the employment. The second was the marquis d'Argenson, the elder brother of the secretary of war. By this favor the king surprised the two brothers.

The only inducement the king had for giving away the place, which, according to the maxims of common policy in most courts of Europe, seems to require less virtue than cunning, was the character the marquis had of being an honest man. These two ministers were descended from one of the most ancient houses of Touraine, in which the dignities of the long robe have for some years been joined to the ancient honors of the sword. Their father, who had been keeper of the seals, and minister of the finances, was a genius equal either to the command of an army or directing the police of a state; a man of piercing wit, great intrepidity, and unwearied assiduity; one who would unravel the most knotty affairs; a declared enemy to trivial forms, which little minds are so fond of; in short, a man superior to party, fear, or interest. At the time the government wanted money, he paid back a hundred thousand crowns into the royal treasury, which were his right as minister of the finances; and when he acted thus, he was not rich, and had a numerous family. This action, which the king was acquainted with, contributed greatly to the promotion of his sons.

One of the first affairs that came before the minister of state, was an adventure in which there was rather a violation of the law of nations, of the privileges of ambassadors, and of the constitutions of the empire, than any exercise of the right of war.

The king, still true to his engagements with the emperor, had sent Marshal Belle-Isle, with full powers from himself and from the emperor, to Munich, and thence to Cassel and Silesia. He was coming from Munich, the imperial residence, with his brother, the chevalier: they had been at Cassel, and were continuing their journey, without any distrust, through a country where the king of Prussia has several post-houses, which, by agreement among the princes of Germany, have been always looked upon as neutral and inviolable. While the marshal and his brother were changing horses at one of those post-houses, in a borough called Elbingrode, belonging to the elector of Hanover, they were arrested and ill used by Hanoverian messengers, and soon after removed to England. The duke de Belle-Isle was a prince of the empire, and in this quality this arrest might have been considered as a violation of the privileges of the college of princes. In former times, emperors would have punished such an indignity; but any insult might have been offered to Charles VII.; all he could do, was to complain.

The French ministers laid claim at the same time to the privileges of ambassadors, and to every right

of war. If Marshal Belle-Isle was considered as a prince of the empire, and as a minister of the court of France, going to the imperial and Prussian courts; as those two courts were not at war with Hanover, his person was undoubtedly sacred; if, on the other hand, he was looked upon as a general, and as a marshal of France, the king offered to ransom him and his brother. Pursuant to the cartel settled at Frankfort, June 18, 1743, between France and England, the ransom of a marshal of France was rated at fifty thousand livres. The minister of King George II. eluded these pressing arguments by an evasion, which was a new affront: he declared that he looked upon Messrs. de Belle-Isle as prisoners of state: they were treated with the greatest politeness, according to the maxim of most of the European courts, who soften the iniquity of politics and the cruelty of war by external appearances of humanity.

The emperor Charles VII., despised and disregarded in the empire, having no other support but the king of Prussia, pursued by Prince Charles, and apprehensive lest the queen of Hungary should again compel him to quit his capital, seeing himself the continual sport of fortune, and oppressed by maladies which were increased by his vexations, sank at length under the weight: he died at Munich at the age of forty-seven and a half years, leaving this lesson to the world, that the highest degree of human grandeur may lead to the utmost pitch of

infelicity: he had not been unhappy till after his elevation to the imperial throne; and nature from that time proved even more unkind to him than fortune: a complication of acute disorders filled his days with bitterness, and brought him to the grave. He had both gout and stone: upon opening his body, they found his lungs, his liver, and his stomach mortified, with stones in his kidneys, and a polypus in his heart. It was concluded, that for some time he must have lived in continual pain.

The body of this unfortunate prince was laid in state, dressed after the old Spanish mode, according to the regulation of Charles V., though there has been never a Spanish emperor since that prince; and Charles VII. had no manner of relation to that nation. He was buried according to the imperial ceremonies; and, with all that parade of vanity and human misery, they carried the globe of the world before him, who, during his short reign, was not even possessed of a small unhappy province. They gave him the title of "Invincible," in the rescripts published by the young elector, his son, a title by custom annexed to the imperial dignity, and which only served to remind the world of the misfortunes of him that possessed it.

His brother, the elector of Cologne, would never defend his cause; not but this elector, who was bishop and prince of Münster, Paderborn, and Osnabrück, might have raised an army; but then to have a good one required great preparations; he must

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have laid up money, have had officers regularly trained, and soldiers properly disciplined; but all this he wanted. He had always foreseen that Austria would resume the superiority, which indeed was the reason of his neutrality during this whole war: this occasioned great complaints against him; but the event justified his conduct.

It was then believed that, as the cause of the war no longer existed, peace would be restored to Europe: they could not offer the empire to the son of Charles VII. who was then only seventeen years of age; they flattered themselves in Germany, that the queen of Hungary would seek for peace, as the surest means of, at length, placing her husband, the grand duke, upon the imperial throne: but she would obtain this throne, and also continue the war. The English ministry, who gave the law to their allies, because they gave them money, supplying, at the same time, the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the king of Sardinia, thought they should be losers by a treaty, and gainers by protracting the war: they had no difficulty in inspiring Maria Theresa with the same confidence, so as to flatter herself that she should be able to beat both France and Prussia. The passage of the Rhine and of the Elbe in one campaign had doubled her courage. The king of France, on the other hand, would not abandon either his son-in-law, the Infante Don Philip, in Italy; or the young elector of

Bavaria, in Germany; or the king of Prussia, who had returned to his old alliance.

This general war continued, because it was begun: the object of it was now no longer the same as in the beginning; it was one of those maladies whose symptoms alter when they grow inveterate. Flanders had been respected as a neutral country before the year 1744, but was now the principal theatre of war; and Germany was considered by France rather as a field of politics than of military operations. The court of France cast an eye upon the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as a proper person for the imperial crown. He was not only qualified to aspire to this dignity, but he might likewise render it subservient to enriching his family with a part of the Austrian inheritance, which he had at first attempted to acquire by the sword. At first, by detaching him from his new alliance with Austria, there was a probability of giving a greater superiority to the king of Prussia, and of compelling the queen of Hungary to accept terms of peace. But the Saxon minister chose rather to see his master an ally than an enemy of the court of Vienna: the king of Poland might have had the imperial crown, but he would not accept it.

This refusal of the elector of Saxony, which appeared so astonishing to Europe, did not at all surprise those who were acquainted with his court, and with the state of his affairs. They persuaded him that he would find it very difficult to keep the

crown of Poland, if he accepted the empire, and that the republic of Poland would be afraid of having too powerful a chief. They represented to him that he would run the risk of losing a throne, which he might secure to his posterity: and that, after all, he was not sure of carrying his point in competition with the grand duke of Tuscany. The example of the elector of Bavaria had convinced him how difficult it is for a prince who is not himself powerful, to sustain the weight of the imperial crown; and that a grandeur, not founded on its own strength, is oftentimes rather a humiliation. In short, this prince, whether he was not strong enough, or whether he was restrained by the treaties of Vienna, Dresden, and Warsaw, which had connected him with the queen of Hungary and with England, instead of pretending to the empire, entered into a more intimate union with the queen, in order to place the imperial crown on her husband's head, and to give everything to those to whom at first he would have granted nothing.

France had therefore no other resource left than that of arms, and patiently to expect her fate, together with the decision of so many different interests, which had so often changed, and whose different mutations had kept Europe in continual alarm.

Maximilian Joseph, the young elector of Bavaria, was the third from father to son whose rights had been maintained by France: they had restored his

grandfather to his dominions, obtained the imperial crown for his father, and now made a fresh effort to support this young prince. Six thousand Hessians in French pay, three thousand Palatines, and thirteen battalions of German troops, which had been a long time in the French service, had joined the Bavarian forces which were still maintained by the king. To render these aids effectual, the Bavarians should have done their best to defend themselves: but it was their fate to be always beaten by the Austrians. They defended the entrance of their country so very ill, that in the beginning of April, the elector of Bavaria was obliged to quit that same capital from which his father had been so often expelled.

This country had been ravaged to such a degree that it was not able to supply forage to the French troops who were coming to the elector's assistance. The Hessians were mercenaries, who, though they would accept of French money, did not care to fight. On April 10, General Braun declared to Count Ségur, commander-in-chief of the French troops in Bavaria, that he would not go to meet the enemy, and that all he could do was to wait for them. M. de Ségur found himself deserted by the very people he had come to assist; and he could not rely on the Hessians, who had shown such backwardness.

To complete the disgrace of the French, Count Seckendorff, who still commanded the Bavarian army, corresponded with Austria, and was negotiat-

ing a secret arrangement, whereby he surrendered the house of Bavaria to the discretion of the queen of Hungary, and defeated everything that had been done by France. One of the motives of this general's discontent, was that the French had lately refused him twenty-four thousand German florins, which he still demanded, notwithstanding the immense sums the king had remitted him for the payment of the Bavarian troops. He had even taken the plate of the emperor Charles VII. in pledge, at the time that he commanded his army; and after he returned it to the electoral family, he complained that they did not pay him the remainder of a sum of money which was still due. Everybody knows that this man, after having been long in the service of the house of Austria, was confined by the last emperor of that family; and that upon the death of that prince he quitted the queen of Hungary for the house of Bavaria; now human nature is so constituted, that those who often change masters are seldom heartily attached to any party. On March 24, he wrote to Marshal Thoring, a Bavarian general, these words: "The happy success with which they flatter themselves upon the Rhine will not save Bavaria; this country must be doomed to utter destruction, if means be not found of saving it by some kind of accommodation, cost what it will."

The count de Ségur and M. de Chavigny, the king's plenipotentiaries in Bavaria, were but too well informed of his secret designs; they plainly

perceived from the motions of the Bavarian army, that the king's troops were to be left exposed in a country where the very inhabitants, whom they had defended during the space of four years, had become enemies.

Things being thus unhappily situated, Count Ségur, who had only six thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, French and Palatines, was attacked by an army of twenty thousand Austrians, within a few leagues of Donauwörth, near a little town called Pfaffenhofen. All he had to do in this situation was to save the king's troops, and the military chest ; for this end he posted his men so well, by covering them in a wood, and gaining an eminence, that they maintained a most unequal and most obstinate fight, without being thrown into disorder. The French alone lost about two thousand men, killed and wounded : the Palatines, who were less exposed, had very few killed, but one of their battalions were made prisoners of war. The marquis de Rupelmonde, major-general of the French forces, kept the enemy in play a long time in the rear, but was killed at length with a musket-ball on the field of battle. He had only his aide-de-camp near him when he received the wound. " Let me die," said he ; " run and tell M. de Ségur to take good care of the rear." We cannot too much lament the death of this young man, who, besides every military talent, was possessed of a philosophic turn of mind, and of other agreeable qualities which rendered his com-

pany infinitely valuable to his friends. He was the only heir of a family long distinguished in Flanders; the hope and consolation of a mother, who for many years had been the darling of the court of France, and who now only lived for this son. The marquis de Crussol, who was entrusted with the command of the rear, and the chevalier de la Marck, behaved with such prudence and intrepidity, that the enemy could not refuse them their commendations, and were rewarded by the prince. This little army retired to Donauwörth in good order, without being ever broken; and killed a great many more of the enemy than they themselves had lost.

All this time the young elector of Bavaria was at Augsburg. Had his council agreed to have joined his troops to those which were only fighting his battles, he might still have kept the balance even. The king was defending his cause on all sides: Marshal Maillebois, at the head of a hundred and one battalions, and sixty-two squadrons, with ten independent companies, was driving an Austrian army, commanded by the duke of Aremberg, beyond the River Lahn, and even menaced the electorate of Hanover: the king of Prussia kept Prince Charles employed; in short, the king of France himself was upon the point of making a most powerful diversion in Flanders. But all these considerations were superseded by Count Seckendorff's party; they prevailed on the young elector to sign preliminaries, by which he made himself dependent on

Austria; while the queen of Hungary was left in possession of his strongest towns, Ingolstadt, Scharding, and Branaü, till the conclusion of a definitive treaty: he likewise promised his vote at the first diet of election to the grand duke, and thereby placed over his own head the very person whom the present juncture had rendered the most dangerous enemy of the house of Bavaria. The six thousand Hessians who were in this army declared themselves neutral; but notwithstanding their neutrality, they were disarmed at Augsburg, after which they passed from French into English pay. The Palatines were soon obliged to embrace a neutrality. This revolution, so lucky to the queen of Hungary, did this service at least to France, that it saved her the men and the treasure of which she had been so lavish in favor of the house of Bavaria, and freed her from the burden of mercenary troops, which generally cost a great deal more than their service is worth. The young elector's council might excuse this treaty by the experience of past, and the apprehension of future, misfortunes; but how could they justify a secret article by which the elector engaged to lend troops to the queen of Hungary, and, like the rest, to receive English pay? Little did the king of France expect, when he put the elector Charles Albert on the imperial throne, that in two years' time the Bavarians would serve among his enemy's troops.

While the king lost one ally, who was only a

burden to him, he still preserved another, who was of infinite use. The king of Prussia was the terror of the Austrians; Prince Charles could hardly face him in the field.

The resolution taken by Louis XV. was to act on the defensive in Germany, and on the offensive in Flanders and Italy: and thereby he answered every purpose. His army on the Rhine employed the Austrians, and prevented them from falling upon his ally, the king of Prussia, with too great a superiority of forces. He had already sent Marshal Maillebois from Germany into Italy; and the prince of Conti was entrusted with the management of the war on the Rhine, a war of quite a different nature from that which he had conducted in the Alps.

The king undertook to finish the conquests in person, which he had interrupted the preceding year. He had just married the dauphin to the second infanta of Spain, in the month of February; and this young prince, who had not yet completed his sixteenth year, prepared to set out in the beginning of May along with his father.

Before the king's departure, Marshal Saxe went to take upon him the command of the army in Flanders, which was to consist of a hundred and six battalions and a hundred and seventy-two squadrons complete, with seventeen independent companies.



THE LIFE OF JOHN

BY JOHN S. P. [?]

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CHAPTER XIV.

SIEGE OF TOURNAY — BATTLE OF FONTENOY.

MARSHAL SAXE having made several marches, which kept the enemy in suspense, and seemed sometimes to threaten Aeth, and sometimes Mons, all of a sudden sat down before Tournay, and invested it on April 25; while the allied army of the English, Austrians, Hanoverians, and Dutch was not able to prevent his operations. Tournay was the strongest place of the whole barrier: the town and citadel were one of Vauban's masterpieces; for there was not a place of any strength in Flanders, whose fortifications had not been built by Louis XIV.

The people of Tournay were fond of the French government, not so much because their town is part of the ancient patrimony of the kings of France, as out of regard to their own advantage: they preferred the French magnificence, which enriches a country, to the Dutch economy, which keeps it low. But the inclination of the inhabitants is seldom regarded in fortified towns: they are no way concerned either in the attack or in the defence of those places: they are transferred from one sovereign to another by capitulations, which are made for them, without asking their advice.

In the beginning of the siege of Tournay happened one of those events, in which the inevitable fatality which determines life and death, appeared, as it were, in the most conspicuous characters. The

count de Talleyrand, colonel of the regiment of Normandy, had mounted the trenches under the orders of the duke de Biron: here a cavalier was erected, near which they had placed a cask of gunpowder. In the night the duke de Biron laid himself down upon a bearskin near M. de Talleyrand, when he recollected that he had promised to spend part of the night with M. de Meuze: he resolved to go, notwithstanding that M. de Talleyrand did all he could to dissuade him. No sooner was he gone, than a soldier trying the prime of his weapon, a spark dropped upon the cask of gunpowder, and instantly the cavalier flew up into the air, carrying with it M. de Talleyrand, with twenty-four soldiers, whose mangled limbs were dispersed on every side: part of the body of M. de Talleyrand was thrown more than one hundred and eighty feet. But an accident of this kind, though never so fatal, is confounded in time of war in the multitude of human calamities, which, from our being too much surrounded by them, escape our attention. The garrison of Tournay, beholding this unlucky accident, insulted the French, reviling them with the most injurious language; upon which a few companies of grenadiers, unable to contain their indignation, answered them, not by opprobrious speeches, but by leaping out of the trenches, and running upon the glacis of the covert-way, though the regular approaches for attacking it were not yet finished: they descend without order, without preparation, or even without

officers, upon the covert-way, notwithstanding the fire of the enemy's artillery and their small shot, and maintain themselves boldly till the round came by, though exposed on every side. The duke de Biron, who commanded the trenches, hearing of this action, which the nature of the provocation and the ardor of the troops rendered in some measure excusable, immediately orders gabions to be brought, makes epaulements, and lodges those brave fellows on the covert-way, which they had so resolutely carried.

As soon as the states-general were informed that Tournay was in danger, they sent word to the commander of the troops that he must venture a battle to relieve the town. Notwithstanding the circumspection of those republicans, they were the first of the allies at that time who took vigorous resolutions.

On May 5 the enemy advanced to Cambon, within seven leagues of Tournay. The king set out from Paris the next day, with the dauphin; the king was attended by his aides-de-camp, and the dauphin by his minions.

The inhabitants of Paris, who had been so near losing the king the foregoing year, felt a return of their pain, upon seeing both the father and the son set out for Flanders, to expose themselves to the uncertain issue of a battle. The French had made no intrenchments as yet before Tournay in the lines of circumvallation: they had no army of observation; nor had the twenty battalions and forty

squadrons, which had been drafted from the army commanded by the prince of Conti, as yet arrived.

But notwithstanding the uneasiness they were under at Paris, it must be allowed that the king's army was considerably superior to that of the allies. In several printed relations, it is said to have been weaker. Historical exactness obliges me to acknowledge that it was stronger by sixty battalions and eighty-two squadrons; for the French had a hundred and six battalions, reckoning the militia, and a hundred and seventy-two squadrons; whereas the allies had only forty-six battalions and ninety squadrons.

True it is, that on the day of the engagement the French did not avail themselves entirely of this advantage. Part of the troops had not yet arrived; there was also a necessity for leaving some to guard the trenches of Tournay, and for the bridges of communication: but still the superiority of numbers was certainly on the side of France. And it is not less true that this advantage was not of any consequence in so confined a ground as that of the field of battle; besides, it happens very seldom that victory is owing to numbers. The chief strength of the enemy's army consisted in twenty battalions and twenty-six squadrons of English, under the young duke of Cumberland, who, in company with the king, his father, had gained the battle of Dettingen. The English were joined by five battalions and sixteen squadrons of Hanoverian troops. The prince

of Waldeck, of about the same age as the duke of Cumberland, like him full of ardor, and impatient to signalize himself, was at the head of the Dutch forces, consisting of forty squadrons and twenty-six battalions. In this army the Austrians had only eight squadrons; the allies were fighting their cause in Flanders, a country that has been long defended by the arms and treasure of England and Holland. But at the head of this small number of Austrians was old General Königseck, who had commanded against the Turks in Hungary, and against the French in Italy and in Germany: it was intended that his years and experience should be a check to the youthful ardor of the duke of Cumberland, and of Prince Waldeck. The whole allied army was upward of fifty thousand combatants.

The king left about eighteen thousand men before Tournay, who were posted at gradual distances from the field of battle, besides six thousand to guard the bridges on the Scheldt, and the communications. The army was commanded by a general in whom they had the greatest confidence. Count Saxe had made the art of war his constant study, even in time of peace; besides a profound theory, he had great practical knowledge; in short, vigilance, secrecy, the art of knowing properly when to postpone, and when to execute a project, to see things at one glance, presence of mind, and foresight were abilities allowed him by the consent of all military people. But at that time this general was wasting away with

a lingering disorder. The author of these memoirs, happening to meet him before he set out for Flanders, could not forbear asking him how he could think of taking the field in that feeble condition. The marshal answered: "It is not time now to think of living, but of departing."

On May 6, the king arrived at Douay: just as he was going to bed, he received a courier from the marshal, who informed him that the enemy's army was approaching, and that they would be quickly in sight of each other. "Gentlemen," said the king to his aides-de-camp and to his officers, "there shall be no time lost; I set out to-morrow morning at five o'clock; but do not disturb the dauphin."

The next day the king arrived at Pont-a-Chin, near the Scheldt, within reach of the trenches of Tournay. The dauphin, who had been apprised, was there in time, and attended the king, when he went to reconnoitre the ground designed for the field of battle. The whole army, upon seeing the king and the dauphin, made the air resound with acclamations of joy. The enemy spent the 10th and the night of the 11th in making their last dispositions. Never did the king express greater cheerfulness than on the evening before the engagement. The conversation turned upon the battles at which the kings of France had been present: the king said that, since the battle of Poitiers, there had not been any king of France who had his son with him in an engagement; that none of them had ever gained a

signal victory over the English; and he hoped to be the first.

The day the battle was fought, he awoke first; at four o'clock he awakened Count d'Argenson, secretary of war, who that very instant sent to Marshal Saxe to know his last orders. They found the marshal in a wicker vehicle, which served him as a bed; he was carried about in it, when his strength came to be so exhausted that he could no longer ride on horseback. The king and the dauphin had already passed the bridge of Calonne. The marshal told the officer sent by Count d'Argenson that the king's guards must come forward, for he had fixed their post in the reserve with the carbineers, as a sure resource. This was a new method of posting troops, whom the enemy consider as the flower of an army. But he added, that the guards should not be ordered to advance, till the king and the dauphin had repassed the bridge. The marshal, as a foreigner, was very sensible how much less it became him than any other general, to expose two such precious lives to the uncertain issue of a battle. The officer to whom he had made these answers was loath to repeat them to the king; but this prince, apprised of the marshal's directions, said, "Let my guards advance this very moment; for I will not repass the bridge." Soon after he went and took post beyond the place called "The Justice of Our Lady in the Wood." For his guard he would have only a squadron of a hundred and twenty men of the company of Charôt, one

gendarme, a light horseman, and a musketeer. Marshal de Noailles kept near his majesty, as did also the count d'Argenson; the aides-de-camp were the same as the preceding year. The duke de Villeroi was also about his person, as captain of the guards; and the dauphin had his attendants near him.

The king and the dauphin's retinue, which composed a numerous troop, were followed by a multitude of persons of all ranks, whom curiosity had brought to this place, some of whom were mounted even on the tops of trees to behold the spectacle of a bloody engagement.

The assistance of engraving is absolutely necessary to a person who desires to form a clear and distinct image of this action. The ancients, who were strangers to this art, could leave us but imperfect notions of the situation and motion of their armies; but to have an adequate knowledge of such a day, requires researches still more difficult. No one officer can see everything; a great many behold with eyes of prepossession, and there are some that are very short-sighted. There is a good deal in having consulted the papers of the war-office, and especially in getting instruction from the generals and the aides-de-camp; but it is requisite, moreover, to speak to the commanding officers of the different corps, and to compare their statements, in order to mention only those facts in which they agree.

All these precautions I have taken for obtaining a thorough information of the detail of a battle, of

which even the least particulars must be interesting to the whole nation. Casting an eye upon the plan, you may perceive at one glance the disposition of the two armies. You will see Antoin near the Scheldt, within fifty-four hundred feet of the bridge of Calonne, the way that the king and the dauphin came. The village of Fontenoy is within forty-eight hundred feet of Antoin; thence, drawing toward the north, is a piece of ground twenty-seven hundred feet broad, between the woods of Barri and of Fontenoy. In this plan you see the dispositions of the brigades, the generals that commanded them, with what art they prepared against the efforts of the enemy near the Scheldt and Antoin, between Antoin and Fontenoy, in those villages lined with troops and artillery, on the ground which separates Fontenoy from the woods of Barri, and finally on the left toward Remecroix, where the enemy might advance by making the compass of the woods.

The general had made dispositions for a victory and a defeat. The bridge of Calonne lined with cannon, strengthened with intrenchments, and defended by a battalion of guards, another of Swiss, and three of militia, was to facilitate the retreat of the king and of the dauphin, in case of any unlucky accident. The remainder of the army was to have filed off at the same time over the other bridges on the lower Scheldt in the neighborhood of Tournay.

Notwithstanding all these measures, so well concerted as to support each other without the least

clashing, there happened one mistake, which, had it not been rectified, might have occasioned the loss of the day. The evening preceding the battle, the general was told that there was a hollow way, deep and impassable, which extended, without discontinuance, from Antoin to Fontenoy, and would secure the army on that side. Weak as he was, he reconnoitred a part of this hollow way, himself; and they assured him that the remainder was still more inaccessible. He made his dispositions accordingly; but this ground, which was very deep near Fontenoy and Antoin, was quite level between those two villages. This circumstance, so trivial in other cases, was here of the utmost consequence; for the army might have been taken in flank. The marshal having been better informed by the quartermaster, M. de Cremille, caused three redoubts to be hastily erected in this same spot between the villages. Marshal de Noailles directed the works in the night, and joined Fontenoy to the first redoubt by a redan of earth; the three redoubts were furnished with three batteries of cannon, one of eight pieces, the other two of four; they were called the redoubts of Bettens, from being defended by the Swiss regiment of Bettens, with that of Diesbach. Beside these precautions, they had also planted six sixteen-pounders on this side of the Scheldt, to gall the troops that should attack the village of Antoin.

We must particularly observe that there was a piece of ground of about two thousand seven hun-

dred feet, which had a gentle ascent between the woods of Barri and Fontenoy. As the enemy might penetrate this way, the general took care to erect at the verge of the woods of Barri, a strong redoubt, where the guns were fixed in embrasures; here the marquis de Chambonas commanded a battalion of the regiment of Eu. The cannon of this redoubt, with those which were planted to the left side of Fontenoy, formed a cross-fire sufficient, one would imagine, to stop the efforts of the most intrepid enemy.

Had the English attempted to pass through the wood of Barri, they would have met with another redoubt furnished with cannon; if they made a greater circuit, they had intrenchments to force, and must have been exposed to the fire of two batteries on the high road leading to Leuze. Thus did Marshal Saxe make the most advantage of the ground on every side.

With respect to the position of the troops, beginning from the bridge of Vaux, which after the battle was called the bridge of Calonne, there was no one part left naked. The counts de la Marck and de Lorges were entrusted with the post of Antoin; where were six battalions of Piedmont and Biron, with six cannon at the head of those regiments.

The marquis de Crillon was posted with his regiment hard by the redoubt nearest Antoin; on the left he had dragoons to support him.

The village of Fontenoy was committed to the

care of the count de la Vauguion, who had under him the son of the marquis de Meuze-Choiseul, with the regiment of Dauphiny, of which this young man, who is since dead, was colonel. The duke de Biron, lieutenant-general, was at the head of the king's regiment, which he then commanded, close to the village of Fontenoy. On his left was the viscount d'Aubeterre, and the regiment of his name.

Nearly on the same line the general had placed four battalions of French guards, two of Swiss, and the regiment of Courten on the ground extending from Fontenoy to the wood of Barri.

About twelve hundred feet behind them were fifty-two squadrons of horse: the duke d'Harcourt, the count d'Estrées, and the count de Penthhièvre were lieutenant-generals of this first line. M. de Clermont-Gallerande, du Cheila, and d'Apcher, commanded the second; and between these lines of cavalry, in the morning the general placed the regiments of la Couronne, Hainault, Soissons, and Royal.

On the left was the Irish brigade, under the command of Lord Clare, in a little plain of about one hundred paces. Farther on was the regiment of Vaisseaux, of which the marquis de Guerchi was then colonel: between these brigades were M. de Clermont-Tonnere, and the prince de Pons, of the house of Lorraine, at the head of the brigade of cavalry of Royal-Roussillon.

The king's household and the carbineers were in the corps of reserve. This was a new method prac-

tised by Marshal Saxe, and recommended by the chevalier Folard, to secrete from the enemy's view those troops which are most famed for bravery, against whom they generally direct the flower of their forces.

These dispositions being all made, or upon the point of being made, they waited in silence for the break of day. At four in the morning Marshal Saxe, attended by his aides-de-camp, and by the principal officers, went to visit all the posts. The Dutch, who were already forming, kept continually firing at these officers; which the marshal perceiving, said, "Gentlemen, there will be use for your lives to-day:" he made them dismount, and walked a long time through this hollow way, of which we have already made mention. The fatigue exhausted his strength and increased his illness; finding himself growing weaker, he got into his wicker vehicle again, where he rested for some little time. At break of day Count d'Argenson went to see whether the artillery of the redoubts and villages was in good order, and whether the field-pieces were all arrived. They were to have a hundred pieces of cannon, and they had only sixty. Here the presence and directions of the minister were necessary: he gave orders for them to bring the forty pieces that were wanting; but in the tumult and hurry, almost unavoidable on such an occasion, they forgot to bring the number of balls which such artillery required. The field-pieces were four-pounders, and

drawn by soldiers; the cannon in the villages and redoubts, as also those planted on this side the Scheldt against the Dutch, were from four to sixteen pounders. Two battalions belonging to the ordnance were distributed in Antoin, Fontenoy, and the redoubts, under the direction of M. Brocard, lieutenant-general of the artillery.

The enemy had eighty-one cannon, and eight mortars. Their field-pieces were three-pounders; they were what we used formerly to call *fauconets*; their length is about four feet and a half, their ordinary charge is two pounds of powder, and they carry fifteen hundred feet at full shot. There were some that carried balls only of a pound and a half. The cannonading began on both sides: Marshal Saxe told marshal de Noailles, that here the enemy would stop: he supposed them to have formed a deeper design than they really had, imagining they would do just what he would have done in their place, that they would keep the French army in awe, and in continual alarm; by which means they might retard, and perhaps absolutely prevent the taking of Tournay. And indeed they were posted in such a manner that they could not be attacked with advantage; while at the same time they had it in their power constantly to harass the besieging army. This was the opinion of General Königseck: but the duke of Cumberland's courage was too warm, and the confidence of the English too great, to listen to advice. At the time they began to cannonade, Marshal de

Noailles was near to Fontenoy, and gave an account to Marshal Saxe of the work he had done in the beginning of the night, in causing the village of Fontenoy to be joined to the first of the three redoubts between that village and Antoin: he acted here as M. de Saxe's first aide-de-camp, thus sacrificing the jealousy of command to the good of the state, and forgetting his own rank to yield the precedence to a general who was not only a foreigner, but younger in commission than himself. Marshal Saxe was perfectly sensible of the real value of this magnanimity; and never was there such perfect harmony between two men, who from the ordinary weakness of the human heart should naturally have been at variance.

At this very moment the duke of Grammont came up, when Marshal de Noailles said to him, "Nephew, we should embrace one another on the day of battle; perhaps we shall not see one another again." Accordingly they embraced one another most tenderly; and then Marshal de Noailles went to give his majesty an account of the several posts which he had visited.

The duke of Grammont met Count Lowendahl, who advanced with him within a short distance of the first redoubt of the wood of Barri, opposite an English battery; here a three-pound cannon-ball struck the duke of Grammont's horse, and covered Count Lowendahl with blood; a piece of flesh which flew off with the shot fell into his boot: "Have a care," says he to the duke of Grammont, "your horse

is killed." "And I myself," answered the duke. The upper part of his thigh was shattered by the ball, and he was carried off the field. When M. de Peyronie met him upon the road to Fontenoy, he was dead. The surgeon made a report of it to the king, who cried out with concern: "Ah! we shall lose a great many more to-day."

The cannonading continued on both sides till eight in the morning with great vivacity, without the enemy's seeming to have formed any settled plan. Toward seven, the English encompassed the whole ground of the village of Fontenoy, and attacked it on every side. They flung bombs into it, one of which fell just before Marshal Saxe, who was then speaking to Count Lowendahl.

The Dutch afterward advanced toward Antoin, and the two attacks were equally well supported. The count de Vauguion, who commanded in Fontenoy, with the young count de Meuze under him, constantly repulsed the English. He had made intrenchments in the village, and enjoined the regiment of Dauphiny not to fire but according to his orders. He was well obeyed; for the soldiers did not fire till they were almost muzzle to muzzle, and sure of their mark; at each discharge they made the air resound with "*Vive le Roi*." The count de la Marck, with the count de Lorges, in Antoin, employed the Dutch, both horse and foot. The marquis de Chambonas also repulsed the enemy in the several attacks of the redoubt of Eu. The Eng-

lish presented themselves thrice before Fontenoy, and the Dutch twice before Antoin. At their second attack almost a whole Dutch squadron was swept away by the cannon of Antoin, and only fifteen left; from that time the Dutch continued to act but very faintly, and at a distance.

The king was at that time with the dauphin, near "The Justice of Our Lady in the Wood," against which the English played very briskly with their cannon. Even the small musket-shot reached thus far, a domestic of Count d'Argenson being wounded on the forehead by a musket-ball, a good distance behind the king.

From this position, which was equally distant from the several corps, the king observed everything with great attention. He was the first who perceived that as the enemy attacked Antoin and Fontenoy, and seemed to bend their whole strength on that side, it would be of no use to leave the regiments of Normandy, Auvergne, and Touraine toward Ramecroix: he therefore caused Normandy to advance near the Irish, and put Auvergne and Touraine farther behind. But he did not change this disposition till he had asked the marshal's advice, entirely solicitous about the success of the day, never presuming on his own opinion, and declaring that he was come to the army only for his own, and for his son's instruction.

Then he advanced toward the side of Antoin, at the very time that the Dutch were moving forward

to make their second attack: the cannon-balls fell round him and the dauphin; and an officer named M. d'Arbaud, afterward colonel, was covered with dirt from the rebounding of a ball. The French have the character of gayety even in the midst of danger: the king and those about him, finding themselves daubed with the dirt thrown up by this shot, laughed; the king made them pick up the balls, and said to M. de Chabrier, major of artillery, "Send these balls back to the enemy; I will have nothing belonging to them." He afterward returned to his former post, and with surprise observed, that most of the balls that were then fired toward the woods of Barri, from the English battery, fell upon the regiment of Royal-Roussillon, which did not make the least movement, whereby he could form any conclusion either as to its danger or its losses.

The enemy's attack, till ten or eleven o'clock, was no more than what Marshal Saxe had foreseen. They kept firing, without results, upon the villages and the redoubts. Toward ten the duke of Cumberland took the resolution of forcing his way between the redoubt of the woods of Barri and Fontenoy. In this attempt he had a deep hollow way to pass, exposed to the cannon of the redoubt, and on the other side of the hollow way he had the French army to fight. The enterprise seemed temerarious. The duke took this resolution only because an officer, whose name was Ingoldsby, whom he commanded to attack the redoubt of En. did not execute his orders. Had he

made himself master of that redoubt he might have easily, and without loss, brought his whole army forward, protected by the cannon of the redoubt, which he would have turned against the French. But, notwithstanding this disappointment, the English advanced through the hollow way. They passed it almost without disordering their ranks, dragging their cannon through the byways; they formed in three close lines, each four deep, advancing between the batteries of cannon, which galled them most terribly, the ground not above twenty-four hundred feet in breadth. Whole ranks dropped down to the right and left; but they were instantly filled up; and the cannon, which they brought up against Fontenoy and the redoubts, answered the French artillery. Thus they marched boldly on, preceded by six field-pieces, with six more in the middle of their lines.

Opposite them were four battalions of French guards, with two battalions of Swiss guards at their left, the regiment of Courten to their right, next to them the regiment of Aubeterre, and farther on, the king's regiment, which lined Fontenoy the length of the hollow way.

From that part where the French guards were posted, to where the English were forming, was rising ground.

The officers of the French guards said to one another: "We must go and take the English cannon." Accordingly they ascended to the top with

their grenadiers; but when they got there, how great was their surprise to find a whole army before them! The enemy's cannon and small shot brought very nearly sixty of them to the ground, and the remainder were forced to return to their ranks.

In the meantime the English advanced, and this line of infantry, composed of the French and Swiss guards, and of Courten, having upon their right the regiment of Aubeterre, and a battalion of the king, drew near the enemy: the regiment of English guards was at the distance of fifty paces; Campbell's and the Royal Scotch were the first; Mr. Campbell was their lieutenant-general; Lord Albemarle their major-general; and Mr. Churchill, a natural son of the famous duke of Marlborough, their brigadier. The English officers saluted the French by taking off their hats. The count de Chabannes and the duke de Biron advanced and returned the compliment. Lord Charles Hay, captain of the English guards, cried out, "Gentlemen of the French guards, give fire."

The count d'Antroche, then lieutenant, and since captain of grenadiers, answered with a loud voice: "Gentlemen, we never fire first; do you begin." Then Lord Charles, turning about to his men, gave the word of command, in English, to fire! The English made a running fire; that is, they fired in platoons: when the front of a battalion, four deep, had fired, another battalion made its discharge, and then a third, while the first were loading again. The line

of French infantry did not fire; it was single, and four deep, the ranks pretty distant, and not at all supported by any other body of infantry; they must have been surprised at the depth of the English corps, and their ears stunned with the continual fire. Nineteen officers of the guards were wounded at this first discharge; Messrs. de Clisson, de Langey, and de la Peyrere lost their lives; ninety-five soldiers were killed on the spot; two hundred and eighty-five were wounded; eleven Swiss officers were wounded, as also one hundred and forty-five of their common men; and sixty-four were killed; Colonel de Courten, his lieutenant-colonel, four officers, and seventy-five soldiers dropped down dead; fourteen officers, and two hundred soldiers were dangerously wounded. The first rank being thus swept away, the other three looked behind them, and seeing only some cavalry at the distance of above eighteen hundred feet, they dispersed. The duke of Grammont, their colonel and first lieutenant-general, whose presence would have encouraged them, was dead; and M. de Luttaux, second lieutenant-general, did not come up till they were routed. The English, in the meantime, advanced gradually, as if they were performing their exercise: one might see the majors holding their canes upon the soldiers' muskets, to make them fire low and straight!

Thus the English pierced beyond Fontenoy and the redoubt. This corps, which before was drawn up in three lines, being now crowded by the nature

of the ground, became a long solid column, unshaken from its weight, and still more so from its courage. It advanced toward the regiment of Aubeterre: at the news of this danger M. de Luttaux made all haste from Fontenoy, where he had been dangerously wounded. His aide-de-camp begged of him to stay to have his wound dressed. "The king's service," answered M. de Luttaux, "is dearer to me than my life." He advanced with the duke de Biron at the head of the regiment of Aubeterre, led by the colonel of that name; but, on coming up, he received two mortal wounds; at the same discharge M. de Biron had a horse killed under him; a hundred soldiers of Aubeterre were killed, and two hundred wounded. The duke de Biron, with the king's regiment under his command, stops the march of the column on its left flank; upon which the regiment of English guards, detaching itself from the rest, advances some paces toward him, kills three of his captains, wounds fifteen others, and twelve lieutenants; at the same time two hundred and sixty-six soldiers were killed, and seventy-nine wounded. The regiment de la Couronne, perceiving itself placed a little behind the king's, presents itself to the English column; but its colonel, the duke d'Havr , the lieutenant-colonel, all the staff-officers, and in short, thirty-seven officers are wounded so as to be obliged to quit the field; and the first rank of the soldiers, to the number of two hundred and sixty, entirely overthrown.

The regiment of Soissonnois, advancing after la Couronne, had fourteen officers wounded, and lost a hundred and thirty soldiers.

The regiment of Royal, which was then with la Couronne, lost more than any other corps at these discharges: six of its officers, one hundred and thirty-six soldiers were killed; thirty-two officers, and five hundred and nine soldiers, were wounded.

It was probable that the English, who were advancing toward the king's regiment, might attack Fontenoy in reverse, while they were cannonading it on the other side, and then the battle would have been inevitably lost. The duke de Biron, having placed some grenadiers in the hollow way which lined Fontenoy, rallied his regiment, and made a brisk charge upon the English, which obliged them to halt. One might see the king's regiment, with those of la Couronne and Aubeterre, intrenched behind the heaps of their comrades, who were either killed or wounded. In the meantime two battalions of French and Swiss guards were filing off, by different roads, across the lines of cavalry, which were above twelve hundred feet behind them. The officers, who rallied them, met M. de Luttaux, first lieutenant-general of the army, who was returning, between Antoin and Fontenoy. "Ah, gentlemen," said he, "do not rally me; I am wounded, and obliged to retire." He died, some time after, in unspeakable torment; before he retired, he said to the soldiers he met belonging to the regiment of

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guards, "My friends, go and join your comrades that are guarding the bridge of Calonne." Others hurried through a little bottom, which goes from Barri to "Our Lady in the Wood," up to the very place where the king had taken post, opposite the wood of Barri, near la Justice. Their grenadiers, and the remainder of the two battalions, rallied under the count de Chabannes toward the redoubt of Eu, and there stood firm with M. de la Sonne, who formed it into one battalion, of which he took the command, because, though young, he was the oldest captain, the rest having been either killed or wounded.

The English column kept firm and close, and was continually gaining ground. Marshal Saxe, with all the coolness imaginable, seeing how dubious the affair was, sent word to the king by the marquis de Meuze, that he begged of him to repass the bridge along with the dauphin, and he would do all he could to repair the disorder. "Oh! I am very sure he will do what is proper," answered the king; "but I will stay where I am." This prince was every moment sending his aides-de-camp from brigade to brigade, and from post to post. Each set out with two pages of the stables, whom he sent back successively to the king, and afterward returned to give an account himself. The order of battle was no longer the same it had been in the beginning: of the first line of cavalry not above half was left. The division of Count d'Estrées was near Antoin,

under the duke d'Harcourt, making head with its dragoons and with Crillon against the Dutch, who, it was apprehended, might penetrate on that side, while the English on the other were beginning to be victorious: the other half of this first line, which was naturally the duke d'Harcourt's division, remained under the command of Count d'Estrées. This line vigorously attacked the English. M. de Fienne led his regiment, M. de Cernay the Croats, the duke of Fitz-James the regiment called after his name; but little did the efforts of this cavalry avail against a solid body of infantry, so compact, so well disciplined, and so intrepid, whose running fire, regularly supported, must of course disperse all those small detached bodies, which successively presented themselves: besides, it is a known thing that cavalry alone can seldom make any impression upon a close and compact infantry. Marshal Saxe was in the midst of this fire: his illness not permitting him to wear a cuirass, he had a kind of buckler made of several folds of stitched taffeta, which he carried on his saddle-bow: he put on his buckler, and rode up with full speed to give directions for the second line of cavalry to advance against the column. The count de Noailles marched directly with his brigade, composed of the regiment of his name, of which the eldest of the family is always colonel; the only privilege of the kind in France, and granted to the first marshal of the name of Noailles, who raised this regiment at his own expense. The regiment

belonging to the duke de Penthièvre made also a part of this brigade. Count de Noailles fell on with great bravery; the marquis de Vignecourt, captain in this regiment, the worthy descendant of a family which has given three grand masters to the order of Malta, rushes with his squadron to attack this column in flank; but the squadron was cut in pieces in the midst of the enemy's ranks, except fourteen troopers, who forced their way through with M. de Vignecourt. An English soldier drove his bayonet with such violence into this officer's leg, quite through the boot, that he was obliged to leave both bayonet and fusil: the horse, having received several wounds, ran away with his master; while the butt-end of the musket, trailing on the ground, widened and tore the wound, of which the captain died a little while after. Out of fourteen troopers, who had broken through the column, six remained, who were soon made prisoners; but the English sent them back the next day, out of regard to their bravery.

Count d'Argenson, son of the secretary of war, charged the enemy with his regiment of Berri, at the same time that the regiment of Fienne was also advancing. He came on to the attack three times at the head of a single squadron; and, upon a false report, his father thought him killed. The count de Broinne, the chevalier de Brancas, the marquis de Chabillant headed and rallied their troops; but all these corps were repulsed one after the other. The

count de Clermont-Tonnere, maitre-de-camp of the cavalry, the count d'Estrées, and the marquis de Croissi were everywhere: all the general officers were continually riding from brigade to brigade. The regiments of the colonel-general, and Fienne, with the Croats, suffered greatly; that of Prince Clermont was still more roughly handled, twenty-two of their officers having been wounded, and of the Croats twelve. All the staff-officers were in motion: M. de Vaudreuil, major-general of the army, rode every minute from right to left. M. de Puisegur, Messrs. de Saint Sauveur, de Saint Georges, de Mézières, aid-quartermasters, were all wounded. The count de Longaunai, aid-major-general, received a wound, of which he died a few days after. It was in these attacks that the chevalier d'Apcher, a lieutenant-general—whose name is pronounced d'Aché—had his foot shattered by a ball. Toward the end of the battle he came to give an account to the king, and spoke a long while to his majesty without expressing the least sign of pain, till at length the violence of the anguish compelled him to retire.

The more the English column advanced the deeper it became, and of course the better able to repair the continual losses which it must have sustained from so many repeated attacks. It still marched on, close and compact, over the bodies of the dead and wounded on both sides, seeming to form one

single corps of about sixteen thousand men, though it was then in three divisions.

A great number of troopers were driven back in disorder as far as the place where the king was posted with his son; so that these two princes were separated by the crowd that came tumbling upon them. The king did not change color; he was concerned, but showed neither anger nor inquietude. Happening to observe about two hundred troopers scattered behind him toward "Our Lady of the Wood," he said to a light horseman, "Go and rally those men in my name, and bring them back." The light horseman galloped, and led them back against the enemy. This man, whose name was de Jouy, did not imagine he had done any great feat; the minister inquired after him a long while, to reward him, before he could be found. During this disorder the brigades of the life guards, who were in reserve, advanced themselves against the enemy. Here the chevaliers de Suze and de Saumery were mortally wounded. Four squadrons of gendarmes arrived at this very instant from Douay, and, notwithstanding the fatigue of a march of seven leagues, they immediately engaged the enemy: but all these corps were received like the rest, with the same intrepidity, and the same running fire. The young count de Chevrier, a guidon, was killed; and it happened to be the very same day that he was admitted into his troop. The chevalier de Monaco, son of the duke de Valentinois, had his leg pierced through. M. de

Guesclin received a wound in the foot. The car-bineers charged the enemy; but had six officers killed, and twenty-one wounded. All these attacks were made without any preparation or agreement, and are what we call irregular charges, in which the greatest bravery can avail nothing against discipline and order.

Marshal Saxe, though extremely weakened with the fatigue, continued still on horseback, riding gently in the midst of the fire: he passed close under the front of the English column, to observe everything that passed toward the left, near the wood of Barri. There they were going on in the very same manner as toward the right; endeavoring, but in vain, to throw the column into disorder. The French regiments presented themselves one after the other; while the English, facing about on every side, properly disposing their cannon, and always firing in divisions, kept up this running and constant fire when they were attacked; after the attack they remained immovable, and ceased to fire. The marshal perceiving a French regiment at that time engaged with the enemy, and of which whole ranks dropped down, while the regiment never stirred, asked what corps that was; they told him, it was the regiment de Vaisseaux, commanded by M. de Guerchi; he then cried out: "Admirable indeed!" Thirty-two officers of this regiment were wounded, and one-third of the soldiers killed or wounded. The regiment of Hainault did not suffer less: their col-

onel was son of the prince de Craon, governor of Tuscany; the father served in the enemy's army, and his sons in the king's. This hopeful youth was killed at the head of his troop; near him the lieutenant-colonel was mortally wounded; nineteen officers of this corps were wounded dangerously, and two hundred and sixty soldiers lay dead upon the spot.

The regiment of Normandy advanced; but they had as many officers and soldiers wounded as that of Hainault: they were headed by their lieutenant-colonel, M. de Solenci, whose bravery the king commended on the field of battle, and afterward rewarded by making him a brigadier. Some Irish battalions fell next upon the flank of this column: Colonel Dillon was killed, fifty-six officers were wounded, and thirteen fell upon the spot.

Marshal Saxe then returns by the front of the column, which had advanced three hundred paces beyond the redoubt of Eu and of Fontenoy. He went to observe whether Fontenoy still held out; there he found that they had no more ball, so that they answered the enemy's shot with nothing but gunpowder.

M. de Brocard, lieutenant-general of artillery, and several other officers of the ordnance were killed. The marshal then desired the duke d'Harcourt, whom he happened to meet, to go and beseech his majesty to remove farther off; at the same time he sent orders to the count de la Marck, who

defended Antoin, to quit that post with the regiment of Piedmont. The battle seemed to be past all hope; they were bringing back their field-pieces from every side, and were just upon the point of removing the artillery of the village of Fontenoy, though a supply of ball was come; they had even begun to send off the train. Marshal Saxe's intention was now to make his last effort against the English column. This enormous mass of infantry had suffered much, though it still seemed to be of the same depth: the soldiers were surprised to find themselves in the middle of the French camp without any cavalry: they continued unshaken; their countenance was bold and undaunted, and they seemed masters of the field of battle. If the Dutch had advanced between the redoubts of Bartens, and acted vigorously in conjunction with the English, the battle would have been lost beyond all recovery, and there would have been no retreat, either for the army, or, in all probability, for the king and his son. The success of a last attack was dubious. Marshal Saxe, knowing that the victory, or an entire defeat, depended on this attempt, thought of preparing a safe retreat, at the same time that he was doing all that lay in his power to obtain the victory. He sent orders to the count de la Marck to evacuate Antoin, and to move toward the bridge of Calonne, in order to favor this retreat in case of a last disappointment. This order was extremely mortifying to the count de la Marck, who saw the Dutch ready to take possession of Antoin

the moment he quitted it, and to turn the king's artillery against his own army. The marshal sent a second order by his aide-de-camp, M. Dailvorde; it was directed to the count de Lorges, who was made answerable for the execution of it; so that he was obliged to obey. At that time they despaired of the success of the day; but the greatest events depend on the most trivial circumstances, on a mistake, on some unexpected stroke.

Those who were near the king must have imagined the battle was lost, knowing that they had no ball at Fontenoy, that most of those who belonged to the ordnance were killed, that they also wanted ball at the post of M. de Chambonas, and that the village of Antoin was going to be evacuated.

Those who were near the duke of Cumberland must have likewise had a bad opinion of the day, because they still imagined themselves exposed to the cross-fire of Fontenoy and of the redoubt of Barri. They were ignorant that the French were firing only with powder; the Dutch, who could not have been informed of the orders given for evacuating Antoin, did not advance; the English horse, which might have completed the disorder into which the French cavalry were thrown by the English column, did not appear; they could not advance without coming near to Fontenoy or to the redoubt, the fire of which still seemed uniform. Here it will be asked, why the duke of Cumberland did not take care to have that redoubt attacked in the beginning,

since he might have turned the cannon that was there against the French army, which would have secured him the victory. This is the very thing he had endeavored to effect. At eight o'clock in the morning, he ordered Brigadier Ingoldsby to enter the woods of Barri with four regiments, in order to make himself master of that post. The brigadier obeyed; but perceiving the artillery pointed against him, and several battalions who lay flat on their bellies, he went back for cannon. General Campbell promised him some, but this general was mortally wounded at the very beginning of the engagement, with a ball fired from that very redoubt, and the cannon was not ready soon enough. Then the duke of Cumberland, afraid of nothing so much as losing time, had taken the resolution of passing on with his infantry, in defiance of the fire of the redoubt; and this enterprise, which one would imagine must have proved fatal to him, had hitherto succeeded.

They now held a tumultuous kind of a council around the king, who was pressed by the general, and in the name of France, not to expose his person any longer. At this very instant arrived the duke de Richelieu, lieutenant-general of the army, who served as aide-de-camp to the king: he was come from reconnoitring the column and Fontenoy; he had charged the enemy with the regiment of Vaisseaux, and with the life guards; he had also made M. Bellet advance with the gendarmes under his command, and these had stopped the column, which

now no longer advanced. Having thus ridden about and fought on every side without being wounded, he presents himself quite out of breath, with his sword in his hand, and all covered with dust. "Well, Resce," said Marshal de Noailles to him—this was a familiar expression used by the marshal—"what news do you bring us, and what is your opinion?" "My news," says the duke de Richelieu, "is, that the victory is ours, if we have a mind; and my opinion is, that we immediately bring four pieces of cannon to bear against the front of the column: while this artillery throws it into disorder, the king's household and his other troops will surround it. We must fall upon them like foragers, and I'll lay my life that the day is ours." "But, Fontenoy," said they, "is pressed by the enemy." "I come thence," said the duke; "it holds out still." "We must see," replied they, "whether the marshal has not designed this cannon for some other use." He answered them, "There is no other to make of it." He was convinced himself, and he persuaded the rest. The king was the first who approved of this important proposal, and everybody else joined in the opinion. He gave orders to bring up four pieces of cannon immediately: twenty messengers rode away directly on that errand; when a captain of the regiment of Touraine, whose name was Issards, aged twenty-one, perceived four pieces of cannon which they were carrying back; he gave notice thereof directly, and that very evening he had the cross of St. Louis.

The king ordered the duke de Pequigni, who has now the title of duke de Chaulnes, to go and see those four pieces pointed: "They were designed," they said, "to cover the retreat." "We shall make no retreat," said the duke de Chaulnes; "the king commands that these four pieces shall give us the victory." Upon which M. de Senneval, lieutenant of artillery, plants them directly opposite to the column. The duke de Richelieu gallops full speed in the king's name to give orders to the king's household to march: he communicates this news to M. de Montesson, the commanding officer, who is transported with joy, and immediately puts himself at their head. The prince de Soubise assembles his gendarmes under his command; the duke de Chaulnes does the same with his light horse; they all draw up in order, and march. The four squadrons of gendarmes advancing at the right of the king's household, the horse grenadiers at their head, under their captain M. de Grille; and the musketeers commanded by M. de Jumillac, rush boldly on. The dauphin was advancing with sword in hand to put himself at the head of the king's household; but they stopped him, telling him that his life was too precious. "Mine is not precious," said he; "it is the general's life that is precious in the day of battle."

In this important moment, the count d'Eu and the duke de Biron at the right, beheld with concern the troops quitting their post at Antoin; the count de

la Marck, their commander, with reluctance obeying. "I will answer," said the duke de Biron, "for his disobedience; I am sure the king will approve of it now that there is so great a change in our favor; I answer that Marshal Saxe will think it right." The marshal, coming up at that very time, was of the duke de Biron's opinion. The general having been informed of the king's resolution, and of the good disposition of the troops, readily acquiesced. He changed opinion when he was obliged to change it. He made the regiment of Piedmont return to Antoin, he moved, notwithstanding his weakness, with great velocity to the right and to the left, and toward the Irish brigade, strictly recommending to all the troops he met on his way not to make any more irregular charges, but to act in concert.

While he was with the Irish brigade, attended by M. de Lowendahl and Lord Clare, the duke de Biron, the count d'Estrées, and the marquis de Croissi were together on the right, opposite the left flank of the column upon a rising ground: they perceived the Irish and the regiment of Normandy, who were advancing toward the right flank. "Now is the time," said they to one another, "for us to advance; the English are beaten." M. de Biron puts himself at the head of the king's regiment; those of Aubeterre and Courten follow him; and all the rest advance under Count d'Estrées. Five squadrons of Penthievre's regiment follow M. de Croissi and his sons; the squadrons of Fitz-James, Noailles, Cha-

brilliant, Brancas, and Brionne advanced with their colonels, though they had received no orders; and it seemed as if there was a perfect harmony between their movements, and all that had been done by M. de Richelieu. Never was the king better served than at that very instant: it was the quickest and most unanimous movement. Lord Clare marches up with the Irish; the regiment of Normandy, the French guards, and a battalion of Swiss advancing higher up toward the redoubt of Eu. All these corps move at the same time; the Irish commanded by Lord Clare, against the front of the column, the guards higher up, under the count de Chabannes, their lieutenant-colonel. They were all separated from the English column by a hollow way; they force through it firing almost muzzle to muzzle, and then fall upon the English with their bayonets fixed on their muskets. M. de Bonnasanse, at that time first captain of the regiment of Normandy, who was afterward the first that jumped upon the covert-way of Tournay, was now the first of his regiment that broke through the column: but the officers of the French guards had already made an impression. The carbineers between the Irish and the king's household, were then piercing through the first ranks; they were seen to run about and to rally in the midst of the enemy, when the crowd and their impetuosity had disordered their ranks. Unluckily they mistook the Irish, who have near the same uniform as the English, for English battalions; and

fell upon them with great fury. The Irish cried out "*Vive la France*," but in the confusion they could not be heard; so that some Irish were killed through mistake.

The four cannon which the duke de Richelieu had called for, and which the duke de Chaulnes had levell'd within one hundred paces of the column, had already made two discharges which thinned the ranks, and began to shake the front of the enemy's army. All the king's household advanced toward the front of the column, and threw it into disorder. The cavalry pressed it hard upon the left flank; Marshal Saxe had recommended to them particularly to bear upon the enemy with the breasts of their horses, and he was well obeyed. The count d'Est-rées, the young prince de Brionne, killed some of the enemy themselves in the foremost ranks: the officers of the king's chamber charged pell-mell with the guards and the musketeers. All the pages were there with sword in hand; so that the marquis de Tressau, who commanded the brigade of the king's bodyguards, said to the king after the battle, "Sire, you sent us pages whom we took for so many officers."

All this time, the duke de Biron held the Dutch troops in play, with the king's regiment and the brigade of Crillon. He had already sent M. de Boisseul, a first page of the great stable, to tell the king that everything went well on his side, and that he would undertake to give a good account of the

enemy. On the other side, the marquis d'Harcourt, son of the duke of that name, came to acquaint the king in his father's name, that the troops were rallied on every side, and that the victory was sure.

At this very instant arrived the count de Castellane, despatched by Marshal Saxe, to inform the king that the field of battle was recovered. In seven or eight minutes the whole English column was dispersed; General Ponsonby, Lord Albemarle's brother, five colonels, five captains of the guards, and a prodigious number of officers were slain. The English repassed the hollow way between Fontenoy and the redoubt in the greatest disorder; the ground which had been taken up by their column, as well as the hollow way, was strewed with dead and wounded bodies.

We have entered into this long detail concerning the battle of Fontenoy, because its importance deserved it. This engagement determined the fate of the war, paved the way for the conquest of the Low Countries, and served as a counterpoise to all disappointments. The presence of the king and his son, and the danger to which these two princes and France were exposed, greatly increased the importance of this ever memorable day.

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ANNALS OF THE EMPIRE
VOLUMES.

1632 — Meanwhile the king of Sweden repasses the Rhine toward Franconia. Nuremberg opens her gates to him. He marches to Donauwörth, on the Danube, restores that ancient town to its liberty, and withdraws it from the Bavarian yoke. All the lands in Suabia belonging to the houses of Austria and Bavaria, he lays under contribution. He forces the passage of the Lech, in spite of Tilly, who is mortally wounded in the retreat. He enters Augsburg as a conqueror, and restores the Protestant religion. It is scarcely possible to push the rights of victory to a greater length. The magistrates of Augsburg take an oath of fidelity to him. The duke of Bavaria, who now remained neutral, and in arms either for the emperor or himself, is obliged to quit Munich, which surrenders to the conqueror on May 7, paying to him three hundred thousand rix-dollars, to save it from being plundered. The palatine has at least the comfort of entering with Gustavus the palace of him who had dispossessed him.

The affairs of the emperor and of Germany seem

desperate. Tilly, an excellent general, who had never been unfortunate but against Gustavus, was dead; the duke of Bavaria, discontented with the emperor, was his victim, and saw himself driven out of his capital. Wallenstein, duke of Friedland, still more disgusted with the duke of Bavaria, his declared enemy, had refused to march to his assistance, and the emperor Ferdinand, whose inclinations never led him to the field, waited his fate from that Wallenstein whom he did not love, and whom he had held at defiance. Wallenstein now employs himself in retaking Bohemia from the elector of Saxony, and has as much advantage over the Saxons as Gustavus had over the Imperialists.

With great difficulty Maxmilian, elector of Bavaria, at length effects a junction with Wallenstein. The Bavarian army, partly levied at the elector's expense, and partly at the expense of the Catholic league, consists of about twenty-five thousand men. That of Wallenstein amounted to thirty thousand old soldiers. The king of Sweden had not now above twenty thousand, but reinforcements were coming in to him on every side. He is joined by the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, William and Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, and the prince palatine of Birkenfeld. His general, Banier, always brings him new troops. He marches to the neighborhood of Nuremberg with above fifty thousand men, approaching the dukes of Bavaria and Wallenstein in their intrenched camp. They give him battle,

but it is not all decisive. Gustavus carries the war into Bavaria; Wallenstein carries it into Saxony; provinces, the destruction of which is completed by these different movements.

Gustavus, leaving twelve thousand men in Bavaria, hastens to Saxony. He soon arrives by forced marches at Leipsic, at a time when Wallenstein did not in the least expect him, and immediately prepares to give battle.

They fight in the great plain of Lützen on November 15. The victory is a long time doubtful, but the Swedes at length obtain it with the loss of their king, who is found among the dead, pierced by two balls and two strokes of a sword. Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar completes the victory. What has not been invented about the death of this great man? A prince of the empire, who served in his army, is accused of having assassinated him; nay, his death is imputed to Cardinal de Richelieu, who had business for his life. Is it not natural then for a king who exposed himself like a soldier, to die like one?

The loss was fatal to the elector palatine, who hoped to have been re-established by Gustavus. He was then sick at Mentz, and the news of Gustavus's death heightened his disorder in such a manner that he died, November 19.

Wallenstein retires into Bohemia after the battle of Lützen. All Europe expected that the Swedes would quit Germany, now that Gustavus was no

longer at their head, but General Banier marches with them into Bohemia. He causes the body of the king to be publicly shown in the army, in order to excite the spirit of revenge.

1633 — Gustavus left the throne of Sweden to a daughter six years old, and consequently a government divided, as was the Protestant league by the death of him who had been its chief and support. The fruits of so many victories were now near being lost, yet nevertheless they were not. The true reason perhaps of so extraordinary an event is, that the emperor acted only in his closet, when he ought to have exerted himself at the head of his army. The senate of Sweden appoint their chancellor, Oxenstiern, to follow exactly the designs of Gustavus the Great in Germany. They also gave him absolute power. Oxenstiern at this time certainly enjoyed a more elevated rank than ever subject in Europe had before. He was at the head of all the Protestant princes of Germany.

These princes meet at Heilbronn, and among them are the ambassadors of France and England, and the states-general. Oxenstiern opens the conference in his own house, and immediately signalizes himself by restoring the Upper and Lower Palatinate to Charles Louis, son of the dispossessed elector. This prince Charles Louis had appeared in one of those assemblies as an elector, but this ceremony had not restored him to his dominions.

Oxenstiern renews with Cardinal Richelieu the

treaty that had been made with Gustavus Adolphus. He is only allowed a million a year subsidy, instead of one million two hundred thousand livres, which had been allowed his master.

Ferdinand negotiates with each of the Protestant princes, having a view of dividing them, but he does not succeed. The war is still continued in plundering Germany, with undecisive success. Austria is the only part which was free from it, as well before as after the time of Gustavus. The Spanish branch of Austria had hitherto but feebly supported the imperial branch, however, it at last makes an effort, sending the duke of Feria from Italy into Germany with about twenty thousand men, the greatest part of which army he lost in his marches and operations. The elector of Trier, bishop of Spire, had built and fortified Philippsburg, on which the imperial troops had seized in spite of him. Oxenstiern, by the force of the Swedish arms, obliges them to restore it to the elector, notwithstanding the duke of Feria vainly strove to force him to raise the siege. This wise politician seemed inclined to convince Europe, by his conduct, that he did not want to subdue the Catholic religion, but that Sweden, as victorious after as before the death of her king, was equally inclined to protect the Protestants and Catholics, a conduct that encouraged the pope to refuse the men, money, and a crusade, which the emperor had demanded.

1634 — France as yet had only taken part pri-

vately in this dispute. It had hitherto cost her but a very trifling subsidy to procure the throne of Ferdinand to be shaken by the Swedish arms, but Cardinal Richelieu began now to deliberate upon making some use of their success. He vainly endeavored the sequestration of Philippsburg, for France had taken every fair opportunity of making herself mistress of some towns in Alsace, as Hagenu and Saverne, which she had obliged the count von Solms, governor of Strasburg, to part with by treaty. Louis XIII., who had not declared war against Austria, yet declares it against Charles, duke of Lorraine, because he was a partisan of that house. The ministry of France dared not as yet openly attack the emperor or Spain, because they were able to defend themselves, but turned their arms upon the feeble Lorraine. Charles II., the deposed duke, is commonly called Charles IV., a prince well known for his extravagances, his marriages, and his misfortunes.

The French have an army in Lorraine, and troops in Alsace ready to act openly against the emperor, at the first fair opportunity that may afford the least justification for such a proceeding. The duke of Feria, pursued by the Swedes into Bavaria, dies there after the almost entire dispersion of his army.

In the midst of these troubles and misfortunes, Duke Wallenstein is engrossed with a design of making the army, which he commanded in Bohemia, contribute to his own grandeur, and thereby render

himself independent of an emperor who seemed dilatory in assisting even himself, and was always distrustful of his generals. It is pretended that Wallenstein treated with the Protestant princes, and even with Sweden and France. But those intrigues of which he is accused were never clearly proved. The conspiracy of Wallenstein is received as a historical fact, and yet we are absolutely ignorant of what kind it was. They guessed at his projects. His real crime was that of making the army his own, and endeavoring to become absolute master of it. Time and opportunity had done the rest. He had administered an oath to such of the principal officers of this army as were most in his interest, the purport of which was, their binding themselves to defend his person and share his fortune. Although he might justify himself in this step by the ample power which the emperor had lodged in his hands, yet the Council of Vienna are alarmed. The Spanish and Bavarian parties at that court were Wallenstein's professed enemies. Ferdinand comes to a resolution of taking off Wallenstein and his principal friends by assassination. One Butler, an Irishman, to whom Wallenstein had given a command of dragoons, and two Scotchmen, named Leslie and Gordon, the former one of the captains of his guard, are charged with this assassination. These three strangers have received their commission in Eger, where Wallenstein at that time resided, caused four officers, who were the principal friends of the

duke, to be forthwith strangled at supper, after which they assassinate himself in the castle, on February 15. If Ferdinand was obliged to come to an extremity so very odious, it ought to be reckoned among his misfortunes.

All the effects of this assassination were to exasperate the inhabitants of Bohemia and Silesia. If the Bohemians were quiet on this occasion, it was because they were awed by an army, but the Silesians openly revolt, and join the Swedes. The Swedish arms still keep all Germany in awe, even as when their king was alive. General Banier commands the whole course of the Oder; Marshal Horn governs on the Rhine; Bernard, duke of Weimar, on the Danube, and the elector of Saxony in Bohemia and Lusatia. The emperor still continues at Vienna. It was happy for him that the Turks did not attack him at this melancholy juncture. Bethlen-Gabor was dead, and Amurath IV. was employed against the Persians.

Ferdinand, secure on that side, drew some assistance from Austria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Tyrol. The king of Spain supplied him with some money, the Catholic league with troops, and the elector of Bavaria, whom the Swedes had deprived of the palatinate, found himself under a necessity of taking part with the emperor. The Austrians and Bavarians united, support the fortune of Germany on the Danube. Ferdinand Ernest, king of Hungary, son of the emperor, encourages the Austrians

by putting himself at their head. He takes Ratisbon in sight of the duke of Saxe-Weimar. This prince and Marshal Horn, who were joined, make a stand upon the borders of Suabia, and on September 5 they give the Imperialists battle. This was the memorable battle of Nördlingen. The king of Hungary commanded the army, the elector of Bavaria headed his own troops, the cardinal-infant, governor of the Low Countries, led some Spanish regiments. Charles IV., duke of Lorraine, who had been stripped of his dominions by France, there commanded his little army of ten or twelve thousand men, which he had sometimes led to the service of the emperor, sometimes to that of the Spaniards, and subsisted at the cost of friends and enemies. There were in this combined army several great generals, such as Piccolomini and John von Worth. It was one of the most bloody battles that ever was fought, lasting above a day and a half. The army of Weimar were almost totally destroyed, and Suabia and Franconia submitted to the Imperialists, where they quartered at discretion.

This misfortune, which was shared by the Swedes, by France, and the Protestants of Germany, contributed to the most Christian king's superiority, and at length secured him the possession of Alsace. It was not the chancellor Oxenstiern's intention before this event, that France should have much power in that country, but that the Swedes, who had all the labor of the war, should reap the advantage

of it. Besides, Louis XIII. had never openly declared against the emperor. But after the battle of Nördlingen the Swedes were obliged to entreat the ministry of France to take possession of Alsace, under the name of protector, upon condition that neither the Protestant princes nor states should make peace or treat with the emperor without the consent of France and Sweden. This treaty is signed at Paris November 1.

1635 — In consequence of this, the king of France sends an army into Alsace, and puts garrisons into all the towns, Strasburg excepted, which appears as a considerable ally. The elector of Trier, being under the protection of France, is arrested by the emperor. This elector is confined at Brussels under care of the cardinal-infant, and furnishes also a reason for going to war with the Spanish branch of Austria.

France had not joined her arms to those of Sweden, until the latter became unfortunate, and the battle of Nördlingen had recovered the spirits of the Imperialists. Cardinal Richelieu already shared, in imagination, the conquest of the Spanish Low Countries with the Dutch. He fancied he should soon have the chief command himself, and Frederick Henry, a prince of Orange, be subservient to his orders. In Germany he had in his pay Bernard of Weimar on the Rhine. The army of Weimar, which was distinguished by the name of the Weimarian troops, was now become like that of Charles

IV. of Lorraine, or of Mansfieldt, an independent detached army, belonging only to its leader. They called this the army of the circles of Suabia and Franconia, and the Upper and Lower Rhine, although it was paid by France, and not in the least supported by these circles.

This was the height of the Thirty Years War, in which, on the one side we see the houses of Austria, Bavaria, and the Catholic league engaged, and on the other, France, Sweden, Holland, and the Protestant league.

The emperor could not possibly neglect dividing the Protestant league, after the victory of Nördlingen. There is great likelihood that France had been too late in her declaration of war; had she made it at the time that Gustavus himself was in Germany, the French troops had entered without resistance into a discontented country, harassed by the government of Ferdinand, but they came at a time when Germany was wearied by the Swedish devastations, after the death of Gustavus, and the battle of Nördlingen, when the superiority again appeared in favor of the Imperialists.

At the same time that France declared herself, the emperor did not neglect to make a very necessary agreement with most of the Protestant princes. The same elector of Saxony, who had been the first that called in the Swedes, was the first to abandon them by that treaty, which is known as the Treaty of Prague. Few treaties more plainly show how

religion serves as a pretext for politics, how it is laughed at, nay sacrificed to necessity.

The emperor had set all Germany aflame by the restitution of benefices. In the Treaty of Prague he first gave up the archbishopric of Magdeburg and all the ecclesiastical possession to the elector of Saxony, who was a Lutheran, excepting a pension, which was to be paid to the elector of Brandenburg, a Calvinist. The interest of the house of the elector palatine, which had first given rise to this long war, seemed to be the thing least regarded in this treaty. The elector of Bavaria was obliged only to support the widow of him who had been king of Bohemia, and the palatine, his son, when he should submit to the imperial authority.

The emperor, besides this, engages to restore to such of the confederates of the Protestant league as acceded to this treaty, all that he had taken from them, and it was likewise stipulated that they should restore all they had taken from the house of Austria; the latter indeed was very trifling, since the emperor's dominions, Upper Austria excepted, had not been in the least exposed in this war.

One branch of the house of Brunswick, the duke of Mecklenburg, the house of Anhalt, that branch of Saxony which is established at Gotha, Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar's brother, besides several imperial towns, signed this treaty. The others continue to negotiate, expecting great advantages.

The whole weight of the war, which had rested

entirely upon Gustavus Adolphus, began in 1635 to fall upon the French, and this war, which had been waged from the borders of the Baltic Sea to the bottom of Suabia, was now brought into Alsace, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, and the borders of France. Louis XIII., who had paid only one million two hundred thousand francs by way of subsidy to Gustavus Adolphus, allowed four million to Bernard of Weimar for the use of his troops, besides which the French ministry gave up to this duke all their pretensions upon Alsace, of which province they promised to declare him landgrave upon a peace.

It must be owned that had not Cardinal Richelieu been the man who made this treaty, it would appear very strange. How could they give a young German prince who might have children, a province of such vast advantage to France, wherein she already possessed several towns? It is very probable that Cardinal Richelieu had no notion of keeping Alsace, nor had he any hope of annexing Lorraine to France, over which she had no manner of right, and which must have been surrendered upon a peace. The conquest of Franche-Comté appeared much more natural, and yet on that side they make but feeble efforts. The hope of dividing the Low Countries with the Dutch was the cardinal's principal object, and he had this so much at heart that, had his health and affairs permitted it, he was resolved to have commanded there in person, yet in this project he was principally disappointed, and

Alsace, which he had so freely bestowed upon Bernard of Weimar, was after the cardinal's death allotted to France. Thus do events often deceive the foresight of the ablest politicians, unless they had said it was the intention of the French ministry to keep Alsace under the name of the duke of Weimar, as it had already an army under the command of this great captain.

1736—Italy at length takes part in this great quarrel, but not as the imperial houses of Saxony and Suabia had done, to defend its liberty against the German arms. It was intended to dispute the superiority of the Spanish branch of Austria governing in Italy, on the other side of the Alps, as it had been formerly opposed on the banks of the Rhine. The ministry of France had Savoy at that time for itself, and had just driven the Spaniards out of the Valtelline. These two great Austrian bodies were thus attacked on all sides.

France alone sends five armies at once into the field, it attacks or defends itself on the side of Piedmont, the Rhine, and the frontiers of Flanders—those of Franche-Comté, as well as those of Spain. Francis I. had formerly made like efforts, and France had never manifested before so many resources.

In the midst of so many storms, such confusion of powers as pressed it on every side, while the elector of Saxony, after having brought the Swedes into Germany, heads the imperial troops, and is

defeated by General Banier in Westphalia, who ravages Hesse, Saxony, and Westphalia, Ferdinand, still entirely engrossed by politics, at last causes his son, Ferdinand Ernest, to be declared king of the Romans, in the Diet of Ratisbon, on December 12; this prince is crowned on the 20th. All the enemies of Austria exclaim against this election as null and void. The elector of Trier, say they who advance this, was a prisoner; Charles Louis, son of Frederick the palatine, king of Bohemia, is not restored as yet to the rights of his palatinate. The electors of Mentz and Cologne are the emperor's pensioners, all which, they say, is against the Golden Bull. It is very certain that none of these clauses were inserted in the Golden Bull, and that the election of Ferdinand III. by a majority of voices was as lawful as any other election of a king of the Romans made during the life of an emperor, the manner of which is not specified in the Golden Bull.

1637 — Ferdinand II. dies on February 15, aged 59, after a reign of eighteen years, which had been perplexed with foreign and intestine wars, against which he never fought but in his cabinet. He was unfortunate, because in his successes he had imagined it necessary to be bloody, and he had afterward felt great changes of fortune. Germany was still more unfortunate than her master; ravaged by her natives, by the Swedes, and by the French, pining under poverty and famine, and plunged in barbar-

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ity, the certain consequences of a war so long and so unhappy.

FERDINAND III.

FORTY-SEVENTH EMPEROR.

Ferdinand III. mounted the throne of Germany at a time when the harassed people began to hope for some repose, but they flattered themselves in vain. A congress had been called at Cologne and also at Hamburg, to give, at least to the public, the appearances of the approaching arrangement. But peace was not the object of either Cardinal Richelieu's or the Austrian council's intention; each party still hoped for advantages which might enable them to prescribe laws.

This long and dreadful war, founded upon so many different interests, is then protracted because it was already begun. Saxony was wasted by the Swedish general, Banier, and the country about the Rhine by Duke Bernard of Weimar. The Spaniards, having taken the island of St. Margaret, had entered Languedoc, and in the Low Countries penetrated even into the Pontoise. Viscount Turenne had already distinguished himself in the Low Countries against the cardinal infant. The object of so many devastations was no longer the same as when these troubles began. They had been kindled by the Protestant and Catholic league, and on the elector palatine's account, but their purpose now was to uphold the superiority of which

France endeavored to deprive the house of Austria, while the design of the Swedes was to preserve part of their conquests in Germany. With these different views they treated, and were in arms.

1638—Duke Bernard of Weimar began to be as dangerous an enemy to Ferdinand III. as Gustavus Adolphus had been to his father. He gave him battle twice in fifteen days near Rheinfelden, one of the four forest towns of which he made himself master, and at the second battle he entirely destroyed the army of John von Werth, a celebrated imperial general, whom he took prisoner, with many of his general officers. John von Werth is sent to Paris. Weimar besieges Breisach; he gains a third battle, assisted by Marshal de Guébriant and Viscount Turenne, against General Gœuts. He gains a fourth against Charles IV., duke of Lorraine, who, like Weimar, had no estate but his army. After having won four victories in less than four months, on December 18 he takes the fortress of Breisach, which had hitherto been looked upon as the key of Alsace.

Charles Louis, count palatine, who had reassembled some troops, and who burned with impatience to re-establish himself by his sword, is not so happy in Westphalia, where the Imperialists destroy his feeble army. But the Swedes under General Banier make new conquests in Pomerania. The first year of this reign is hardly remarkable for anything but misfortunes.

1639—The good fortune of the house of Austria delivers it from Bernard of Weimar, as it had already done from Gustavus Adolphus. He is cut off by sickness on July 18, being only thirty-five years old. The inheritance he left behind him was his army and his conquests. This army, in truth, was secretly paid by France, but it belonged to Weimar. It had sworn fidelity to no other. There was a necessity to negotiate with it, to preserve it in the French service, and keep it from the Swedish.

Marshal Guébriant purchases the fidelity of these troops, and Louis XIII. is thus master of Weimar's army, of Alsace, Briesgau, and the neighboring country.

Money and negotiations do everything for him. He disposes entirely of Hesse, a province that furnishes good soldiers. The celebrated Amelia, dowager of the landgrave of Hanau, the heroine of her time, keeps on foot, with the help of some French subsidies, an army of ten thousand men in that desolated country which she had restored, enjoying at the same time that reputation which all the virtues of the sex bestow, together with the glory of being chief of a very powerful party.

Holland indeed, in this quarrel of the emperor, had remained neutral, but then she caused a considerable diversion by employing Spain and the Low Countries.

Banier was successful in all his battles. After

making sure of Pomerania, he had secured Thuringia and Saxony.

But the principal object of so many troubles, which had been the re-establishment of the house of the palatine, seemed to be most neglected, and by a singular fatality this prince was thrown into prison by the French themselves, who had so long appeared willing to place him in the electoral chair.

The count palatine, at the death of the Duke of Weimar, had conceived a noble, and indeed a very reasonable design, that of re-entering upon his estates with Weimar's army, which he would have purchased with the money of England. He goes in reality to London, where he gets money, and returns by France, but Cardinal Richelieu, who was willing to protect him yet did not care to see him independent, causes him to be arrested; nor is he set at liberty until Breisach and Weimar's troops are secured to France, which then gives him a maintenance the prince is forced to accept.

1640 — The progress of the French and Swedes continues. The duke de Longueville and Marshal Guébriant join General Banier. This army is still increased by the troops of Hesse and Lüneburg.

They march toward Vienna without General Piccolomini, but in a wary, skilful, and deliberate manner. Otherwise it would have been very difficult for so numerous an army to advance in sight of the enemy in a country that had been so long

devastated, and where the soldiers, as well as the people, were in want of everything.

The end of the year 1640 is yet very fatal to the house of Austria. Catalonia revolts, and gives itself up to France. Portugal, which ever since the time of Philip II. had been a province of impoverished Spain, shakes off the Austrian yoke, and soon erects herself into a separate and flourishing kingdom.

Ferdinand then begins seriously to treat for peace, yet at the same time demands of the Diet of Ratisbon an army of ninety thousand men to carry on the war.

1641 — While the emperor is at the Diet of Ratisbon, General Banier is very near seizing upon him and all his deputies. He marches his army over the Danube, which was frozen, and had he not been surprised by a thaw, he would have taken Ferdinand in Ratisbon.

The same fortune which had taken off Gustavus and Weimar in the midst of their conquests, at length delivers the Imperialists from the famous General Banier. He sickens and dies on May 20, at Halberstadt, being forty years old, and at that time more formidable than ever. None of the Swedish generals had any long career.

They negotiate still. Cardinal Richelieu could have made peace, but he did not choose to. He knew very well what advantages France was to reap, and it was his intention to make himself necessary, during the life, and after the death of Louis XIII.,

whose end he foresaw approaching, but his forecast could not teach him that he was to die first. He concluded a new treaty of an offensive alliance with Christina, queen of Sweden, for preliminaries of that peace with which they soothed an oppressed people. He augments the Swedish subsidy with an addition of two hundred thousand livres.

Count Torstenson now succeeds General Banier in the Swedish army, which was in reality an army of Germans. Almost all the Swedes who had fought under Gustavus and Banier were dead; and under the name of Swedes, the Germans fight against their country. Torstenson, bred under Gustavus, shows himself worthy of so great a master. Marshal Guébriant and he again defeat the Imperialists near Wolfenbüttel.

Austria, notwithstanding so many victories, is not yet subdued. The emperor still holds out. Germany, from the Main, even to the Baltic Sea, is laid waste. The war is not carried into Austria. They had not sufficient forces. These victories, so much boasted of, were not entirely decisive. They could not at once go through so many different enterprises and powerfully attack one side without weakening another.

1642 — Frederick William, the new elector of Brandenburg, treats with France and Sweden, in hope, it is said, of obtaining the duchy of Jägersdorf in Silesia — a duchy formerly given by Ferdinand I. to a prince of the house of Brandenburg,

who had been his governor, since confiscated by Ferdinand II. after the victory of Prague, and the misfortunes of the palatine. The elector of Brandenburg hopes to re-enter that territory of which his great uncle had been deprived.

The duke of Lorraine also implores the assistance of France to restore him to his dominions, which she does, keeping only some fortified towns. This is another support taken from the emperor.

Ferdinand III. still holds out, notwithstanding all these losses, nor is he abandoned by either Saxony or Bavaria. The hereditary provinces furnish him with soldiers. Torstenson again defeats the imperial troops in Silesia, commanded by the archduke Leopold, by the duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, and Piccolomini, but this victory is attended with no consequences. He repasses the Elbe, enters Saxony, and lays siege to Leipsic. He gains another signal victory in that country, where the Swedes had always conquered. Leopold is beaten on the plains of Breitenfelt, on November 2. Torstenson enters Leipsic on December 15. All this indeed is melancholy for Saxony and the provinces of Germany, but they had never penetrated to its centre, nor to the emperor, who supports himself after more than twenty defeats.

Cardinal Richelieu dies on December 4; a death that gives some hopes to the house of Austria.

1643 — The Swedes, in the course of this war, had often entered Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia,

and quitted them to throw themselves into the eastern provinces. Torstenson would have entered Bohemia, but, notwithstanding his victories, could never gain his point.

They continued to negotiate still slowly at Hamburg, while the war was pursued briskly. Louis XIII. dies on May 14. The emperor is farther than ever from a general peace. He flattered himself he would be able to withdraw the Swedes from the French alliance during the troubles of a minority, but it happens during the minority of Louis XIV. though very perplexed, as it had under that of Christina, that the war is continued at the expense of Germany.

The emperor's party is at length strengthened by the duke of Lorraine, who joins him after the death of Louis XIII.

The death of Marshal Guébriant, who is killed at the siege of Rottweil, is yet another advantage for Ferdinand. This is the fourth great general who perished in the progress of his victories against the Imperialists. It was the emperor's good fortune also that General Mercy should defeat Marshal Rantzau, Guébriant's successor, at Reutlingen, in Suabia.

These vicissitudes of war retard the conferences about a peace, at Münster and at Osnabrück, where the congress at last is settled. A war between Denmark and Sweden, on account of some Danish ships taken by the latter, gives Ferdinand III. time to

breathe. This accident might have given the superiority to the emperor, who shows what were his resources, by marching a small part of his army, with Gallas at its head, to the assistance of Denmark. But this diversion serves only to ruin Holstein, the stage of this transitory war, and one of the most desolated provinces of Germany. Europe was the more surprised at hostilities between Sweden and Denmark, because Denmark had offered itself as mediator of the general peace, but was now excluded, and Rome and Venice have at length the sole mediation of this peace, which is yet very distant.

The first step taken by Count d'Avaux, one of the plenipotentiaries of this peace at Münster, threw the greatest obstacle in the way of it. He writes to the princes and states of the empire assembled at Ratisbon, to engage them to support their prerogatives, and to share with the emperor and the electors the right of peace and war, a right that had been always contested between the electors and other imperial states. At the diet, these states insisted upon their right of being admitted to the conferences as contracting parties. In this they had got the start of the French ministers, who in their letters used some disrespectful terms toward Ferdinand. This occasions the emperor and the electors at once to fall off, and gives them room to complain, and to throw the reproach of continuing the troubles of Europe upon France.

Happily for the plenipotentiaries of France, they receive news about that time of a most memorable victory gained over the Spanish-Austrian army at Rocroi, by the duke d'Enghien, afterward the great Condé, who in this battle destroys the celebrated Castilian and Walloon infantry, whose reputation had been so very great. Plenipotentiaries, backed by such victories, might write in any terms.

1644 — The emperor might still flatter himself that Denmark would declare in his favor, but of this resource he is deprived. Cardinal Mazarin, Richelieu's successor, is assiduous in reconciling Denmark to Sweden. Nor is this all; Denmark also engages itself not to assist any of the enemies of France.

Both the negotiations and the war are equally unhappy for the Austrians. The duke d'Enghien, who had beaten the Spaniards the preceding year, gives battle three times in four days, between August 5 and 9, in the neighborhood of Freiburg, to General Mercy, and beats him each time, whereby he makes himself master of the whole country from Mentz to Landau, of which Mercy had been before possessed.

Cardinal Mazarin and the chancellor Oxenstiern, in order the better to command the negotiations, raise up a new enemy to Ferdinand in the person of Ragotzky, who had been sovereign of Transylvania ever since 1626. They procure for him the protection of the pope. Ragotzky wants neither pretexts

nor reasons for his conduct. The Protestants of Hungary persecuted, the privileges of the people despised, and the violation of ancient treaties, form Ragotzky's manifesto, while the money of France supplies him with arms.

In the meantime the Imperialists are pushed hard by Torstenson in Franconia. General Gallas flies everywhere before him, and before Count Königs-mark, who trod already in the steps of the greatest Swedish captains.

1645—Ferdinand and the archduke Leopold, his relative, were at Prague when the victorious Torstenson enters Bohemia, and obliges them to fly to Vienna. At Tabor, Torstenson comes up with the imperial army, which was commanded by General Gœuts and John von Werth, who was redeemed out of prison. Gœuts was killed, and John von Werth flies. In short, the rout is complete. The conqueror marches to, and besieges Brünn; nay, even threatens Vienna.

In this long train of disasters, something always fell out to preserve the emperor. The siege of Brünn had been protracted, and instead of the French marching toward the Danube to join the Swedes, as they were to have done in case they had conquered, Viscount Turenne is beaten, on the beginning of his journey, by General Mercy, at Mariendal, and retires to Hesse.

The great Condé marches against Mercy, and has the glory of repairing Turenne's defeat by a

most signal victory on the very same plains of Nördlingen, where the Swedes had been before beaten after the death of Gustavus. Turenne contributes even more than Condé to the success of this bloody battle, which is the less decisive the more destructive it is. The emperor suddenly withdraws his troops from Hungary, and treats with Ragotzky, to prevent the French from marching through Bavaria to Vienna, while the Swedes threaten to approach it through Moravia.

In all probability, while the French and Swedish arms are attended with such mighty prosperity, some rooted vice still prevented their reaping the advantage of such success. The mutual fear which each of these allies had of the other's obtaining the superiority, the failure of money, and the want of recruits, all set bounds to their progress.

After the famous battle of Nördlingen it was scarcely to be expected that the Austrians and Bavarians should suddenly recover the territories lost by that battle, and that they should pursue even the victorious army of Condé to the Neckar, where he himself was not, but where Turenne remained. Such vicissitudes are frequent in this war.

In the meantime the emperor, tired with such continual shocks, began to think seriously of peace. He at length gives the elector of Trier his liberty, whose imprisonment had given France a pretext for declaring war; but the French arms re-establish this elector in his capital. Turenne drives out the

imperial garrison, and the elector of Trier allies himself to France as his benefactor. The elector palatine might have had the same obligations; but France as yet had done nothing decisive for him.

That which principally contributed to the emperor's safety was, that Saxony and Bavaria had almost always borne the burden of the war; but the elector of Saxony, being at length much weakened, enters into treaty with the Swedes. Ferdinand had not done more for him than for Bavaria. The Turks threaten Hungary. All has thereby been lost. The fear of the Ottoman arms makes him impatient to satisfy Ragotzky. He acknowledges that prince sovereign of Transylvania, a prince of the empire, and restores to him all that he had given to his predecessor, Bethlen-Gabor. Thus by every treaty is the emperor a loser; and he hastens the conclusion of the Treaty of Westphalia, whereby he is to lose still more.

1646 — Pope Innocent X. was the first mediator of this peace, whereby the Catholics were to be considerable losers; the republic of Venice was the second. Cardinal Chigi, afterward pope by the name of Alexander VII., was the pope's minister in Münster, and Contarini acted there for Venice. Each interested power made propositions according to its hopes or fears; but victories form treaties.

During these first negotiations, Marshal Turenne, by an unexpected and bold march, joins the Swedish army upon the Neckar in sight of the archduke Leo-

pold. He advances as far as Munich, and increases the fears of Austria. Another Swedish body marches to ravage Silesia; but all these expeditions are no more than incursions. If the war had been carried on step by step, under the conduct of one single leader, who had always obstinately persisted in the same plan, the emperor would not have been in a condition at this time to accomplish the crowning of his eldest son, Ferdinand, in the month of August, at Prague, and afterward at Presburg, though this young king did not live to enjoy his dignity. Besides, the thrones which his father at that time bestowed were very unsteady.

1647 — The emperor, in endeavoring to secure these kingdoms to his son, is nearer losing them than ever. The elector of Saxony is obliged, by the misfortunes of the war, to abandon him, as is the elector Maximilian, his brother-in-law, whose example the elector of Cologne follows. They sign a treaty of neutrality with France. Marshal Turenne obliges the elector of Mentz to adopt the same conduct, and fear has the same influence on the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt. The emperor remains alone, without any one prince to take part in his quarrel; nor have we, till this time, a single instance of such a nature in the wars of the empire.

About this period Wrangel, a new Swedish general, who succeeded Torstenson, takes Eger; and Bohemia is once again pillaged. The danger appears so very great that the elector of Bavaria, notwith-

standing his great age and the peril thereby threatening his dominions, cannot see the head of the emperor left without succor, but breaks through the treaty with France. War is made at the same time in different places, according as the armies can subsist. When the emperor has the least advantage, his ministers at the congress demand favorable conditions; but on the least check, are obliged to submit to severe terms.

1648-- The duke of Bavaria's revolt to the house of Austria is not prosperous. Turenne and Wrangel beat his troops and the Austrians at Summarhausen and at Lauingen, near the Danube, in spite of the brave resistance of a prince of Würtemberg and that of Montecuculi, who began already to prove himself worthy to oppose a Turenne. The conqueror possesses himself of Bavaria, and the elector takes refuge at Salzburg.

In the meantime Count Königsmark, at the head of the Swedes, surprises Prague in Bohemia. This was a decisive blow. It was time at length to make peace. Conditions were to be received, or the empire hazarded. The French and Swedes had no longer any enemy in Germany but the emperor. All the rest were either allied or subdued, and waited only that the empire should receive laws from the congress at Münster and Osnabrück.

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

This Peace of Westphalia, at last signed on Oct. 14, 1648, at Münster and Osnabrück, was made, given, and received, "as a fundamental and perpetual law"; such are the exact words of the treaty. It was to serve as the basis of imperial capitulations. It is even at this day a law as sacred, and as fully received, as the Golden Bull; nay, very much superior to this bull, by the detail of the many interests comprehended in the treaty of all the rights which it confirms, and the changes made, as well in religion as in civil affairs.

This work had been carried on incessantly for more than six years, at Münster and Osnabrück. There had been, however, much time lost in disputing about ceremonials; the emperor refusing to give the title of Majesty to the kings who had triumphed over him. His minister Lutzan, in the first act of 1641, wherein the passports and conferences were settled, spoke of preliminaries "between His Most Sacred Cæsarian Majesty and the Most Serene and Most Christian King." The king of France, for his part, refuses to acknowledge Ferdinand as emperor. It was not without difficulty that the court of France had given the title of "Majesty" to the great Gustavus, who believed all kings to be equal, and admitted no superiority but that of victory. The Swedish ministers at the congress of Westphalia affected to be put upon a footing with those of France. The

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plenipotentiaries of Spain in vain insisted upon their king being named immediately after the emperor. The new states of the United Provinces demanded in this treaty an equal rank with kings. The term "Excellency" began now first to be used. The ministers assumed it to themselves, and there were tedious debates to know to whom it belonged.

In the famous treaty of Münster were named his Sacred Imperial Majesty, his Sacred Most Christian Majesty, and the Sacred Royal Majesty of Sweden.

None of the electors plenipotentiaries had the title of Excellency given him in these conferences; nor do the ambassadors of France give place even to the electors themselves among the princes, and the count d'Avaux wrote thus to the elector of Brandenburg: "Sir, I have done all I could to serve you." When the king of France addressed them, the states-general of the United Provinces were to be called the Lords of the States; pursuant to which, when Count d'Avaux went from Münster to Holland in 1644, he never addressed them by any title but that of Messieurs; nor could they procure for their plenipotentiaries the distinction of Excellency. The count d'Avaux also refused it to an ambassador from Venice, and only gave it to Contarini because he was a mediator. Affairs were very much retarded by these pretensions and refusals, which the Romans call "*gloriole*," and which all the world condemns when they are without character, but insist on when they have established one. These customs, titles,

ceremonies, superscriptions, and subscriptions of letters, with their different forms, have varied from time to time. Often the negligence of a secretary was sufficient to found a title. The languages in which they wrote, established forms, which, passing afterward into other languages, appeared odd. The emperors before Rudolph I. sent all their mandates in Latin, "thouing" every prince, as the grammar of that language admits. This "thouing" of the counts of the empire was continued in the German language, which disallows such expressions. We find everywhere such examples, but they have not even to this day settled a particular precedent.

The mediating ministers were rather witnesses than arbitrators; above all, the nuncio Chigi, who was there only to see the church sacrificed. He sees the diocese of Bremen and Verden given up to the Swede, who was a Lutheran; those of Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin, to the elector of Brandenburg.

The bishoprics of Ratzeburg and Schwerin were only fiefs of Mecklenburg. The bishoprics of Osnabrück and of Lübeck were not indeed entirely secularized, but alternately appointed to a Lutheran and a Catholic bishop. This was a delicate regulation, which could never have taken place during the first troubles of religion; but which is not contradicted by a nation naturally quiet, in which the fury of fanaticism was extinct.

Liberty of conscience was established all over

Germany. The emperor's Lutheran subjects in Silesia had a right to build new churches, and the emperor was obliged to admit Protestants into the aulic council.

The commanderies of Malta, the abbeys and benefices, in Protestant countries, were given to the princes and sovereigns who were at the expense of the war.

How very different were these concessions from the edict of Ferdinand II., who, in the time of his prosperity, had ordered the restitution of all ecclesiastical possessions. Necessity, and the repose of the empire, ordained this law. The nuncio protested and anathematized. That a mediator should condemn the treaty over which he presided was before this unknown; but he knew not what other step to take. The pope by his bull "deprives him of his full power, annulling all the articles of the Peace of Westphalia, as far as they related to religion." But had he been in the place of Ferdinand he would have ratified the treaty. This pacific revolution in religious, causes another in civil affairs. Sweden becomes a member of the empire, being in possession of Hither Pomerania, the most beautiful and profitable part of the other, the principality of Rügen, the town of Wismar, many neighboring villages, and the duchies of Bremen and Verden. The duke of Holstein also hereby gained some territories.

The elector of Brandenburg indeed loses a great part of Hither Pomerania, but gains the fertile

country of Magdeburg, which was infinitely better than his marquisate. He had also Cammin, Halberstadt, and the principality of Minden.

The duke of Mecklenburg loses Wismar, but he gains the territory of Ratzeburg and of Schwerin. Five millions of German crowns are at length paid to Sweden, which the seven circles were to have discharged; and six hundred thousand crowns were paid to the prince landgrave of Hesse, to be raised by the archbishoprics of Mentz, of Cologne, of Paderborn, of Münster, and the abbey of Fulda. Germany, as impoverished by this peace as it had been by the war, could scarcely have paid its protectors dearer.

These afflictions were, however, healed by the useful regulations made both in commerce and justice, by the care which was taken to regulate the complaints of every town, as well as of every gentleman, who laid their rights before the congress, as before a supreme court that was to determine the fate of the world. The particulars were prodigious.

France confirmed to itself forever the possession of three bishoprics, and the acquisition of Alsace, Strasburg excepted; but instead of being paid, like Sweden, she is obliged to pay.

The archdukes of the branch of Tyrol had three millions of livres for parting with their rights upon Alsace and Sundgau. France paid both for war and peace; but she did not purchase so fine a province dearly. Breisach and its dependencies were also hers,

as well as the right to garrison Philippsburg. These two advantages she has since lost; but kept Alsace, which is at length incorporated with that kingdom by Strasburg's having given herself up.

There are few civilians who do not condemn the wording of the cession of Alsace in this famous treaty of Münster. In it are found many equivocal terms. In effect, to give up "all sorts of jurisdiction and sovereignty," and to give up "the prefecture of ten free imperial towns," are two very different things. It is highly probable that the plenipotentiaries saw this difficulty, but did not choose to fathom it, well knowing that there are many things, the veil of which time will remove and power overthrow.

The house of the palatine was restored to all its rights, except the Higher Palatinate, which was left to the Bavarian branch. An eighth electorate was erected in favor of the palatine. Such was their attention to all rights and every complaint, that they went so far as to stipulate the payment of twenty thousand crowns, which the emperor was to give the mother of the count palatine, Charles Louis, and ten thousand to each of his sisters. Even he who came only to demand the restitution of a few acres of land was well received. All things were discussed and regulated. There were one hundred and forty thousand restitutions appointed. The restitution of Lorraine, and the affair of Juliers, submitted to an arbitration. Germany has at last peace, after a war of thirty years; but France has not.

The troubles of Paris, in 1647, emboldened Spain to make her own advantage of it, who declines engaging in the general negotiation. The states-general, who were to have treated at Münster, as well as Spain, make a separate peace with Spain, in spite of all the obligations they had to France, the treaties which tied them down, and the interests which seemed to bind them to their ancient protectors. The Spanish minister made use of a very singular artifice to engage the states to this breach of faith: he persuaded them that he was ready to give the infanta in marriage to Louis XIV., with the Low Countries by way of dower. This soon frightened the states into his measures. It was no more than a lie; and, indeed, properly speaking, what difference is there between the art of politics and the art of lying?

In this important Treaty of Westphalia the Roman Empire had hardly any share. Sweden had no business to quarrel with the sovereign of Italy, but with the king of Germany. France had some points to regulate which Ferdinand could not agree to but as emperor. These concerned Pignerol, the succession of Mantua and of Montferrat, which were fiefs of the empire. It was settled that the king of France should pay about six hundred thousand livres to "Monsieur the duke of Mantua, upon the receipt of Monsieur the duke of Savoy;" provided that he should keep Pignerol and Casale in full and independent sovereignty of the empire. France has since

lost these possessions, as Bremen, Verden, and part of Pomerania have been taken from Sweden; but the Treaty of Westphalia, as far as it concerns the regulating of Germany, has always remained respected, and is still inviolable.

A DESCRIPTION OF GERMANY,

FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THE DEATH OF FERDINAND III.

Thus the chaos of German government was not well settled in less than seventeen hundred years, reckoning from the reign of Henry the Fowler, before whose time it had not been a government. The prerogatives of the kings of Germany had not been restrained to proper limits; most of the rights of the electors, of the princes, of the immediate noblesse, and of the towns, were not incontestably fixed till after the Treaty of Westphalia. Germany was a grand aristocracy, at the head of which was a king not unlike those of England, Sweden, and Poland, or such a form of government as had been anciently received by the states, founded by the people who came from the North and the East. The diet was in the place of a parliament, where the imperial towns had a right to vote, to determine peace or war.

These imperial towns enjoy regal rights equally with the princes of Germany. They are states belonging to the empire, and not to the emperor.

They neither pay the smallest imposts, nor do they contribute to the necessities of the empire, but in the most urgent cases. Their tax is regulated by the general register. If they have the right of finally determining or judging, *de non appellando*, without appeal, they are absolutely sovereign states. Nevertheless, with all these rights, they have very little power; because they are surrounded with princes who have a great deal. The inconvenience annexed to a government so complicated and mixed, in so extended a country, still subsisted; as did the state itself. The multiplicity of sovereignties served to balance one another, until, in the heart of Germany, a power forms itself sufficiently great to swallow up the rest.

This vast country repairs insensibly its losses after the Peace of Westphalia. Its lands are cultivated, and its towns rebuilt. In the following years these were the most remarkable things that happened to a body everywhere wasted and torn, who availed herself now of the grievances she had sustained from her own members during thirty years.

When it is said that Germany was in those times a free country, this is to be understood of the princes and imperial towns; for all the intermediate towns are subject to greater vassals, to whom they belong; and the condition of the inhabitants of the country is middling, between a slave and a subject; particularly in Suabia and Bohemia.

Hungary, like Germany, breathes a little, after

so many intestine wars, and such frequent invasions of the Turks; she standing in need of being recruited, repeopled, and polished; but always jealous of her right of electing a sovereign, and preserving under him her privileges. When Ferdinand III. causes his son Leopold, then seventeen years old, to be elected king of Hungary in 1664, they make his serene highness sign a capitulation as binding as that of the emperor. It is to be observed that the Hungarians use Serene Highness instead of Majesty; a title they never give to any but the emperor, or the king of the Romans. But the Hungarian lords were not so powerful as the German princes; they had neither Swedes nor French to guarantee their privileges; they were rather oppressed than assisted by the Turks, and for this reason Hungary has been at length entirely subdued, in our time, after new intestine wars.

The emperor, after the Treaty of Westphalia, found himself peaceable possessor of Bohemia, devolved to him as a patrimony; of Hungary, which he looked upon as an inheritance, while the Hungarians thought themselves an elective kingdom, and of all the provinces to the extremity of Tyrol. He had no territory in Italy.

The name of the Holy Roman Empire always remains. It is difficult to define what it is besides Germany, and what Germany is besides the empire. Charles V. had justly foreseen that, if his son, Philip II., had not, together with the imperial throne,

enjoyed the crowns of Spain, of Germany, of Naples, and of Milan, scarcely more would have remained to him than the name of Empire. In effect, when the great fief of Milan was, as well as Naples, in the hands of the Spanish branch, this branch found itself at the same time that it was a titular vassal of the empire and the pope, protecting one, and giving laws to the other. Tuscany and the principal towns in Italy secure themselves in their ancient independence of the emperors. A Cæsar who had no dominions in Italy, and who in Germany was only the chief of a republic of princes and slaves, could not pretend to command like a Charlemagne or an Otho.

We see, in all the course of this history, two great designs carried on for nearly eight hundred years; that of the popes hindering the emperors to reign in Rome, and that of the German lords preserving and increasing their privileges.

It was in this condition that Ferdinand III., at his death, in 1657, left the empire, while the Spanish branch of Austria still carried on that long war with France, which was finished by the Pyrenean treaty, and the marriage of the infanta Maria Theresa to Louis XIV.

These events are so recent, and so very well known, as well as recited by all historians, that it would be needless to repeat here what nobody is ignorant of. From this situation of affairs a general idea may be formed of the empire, from those days down to ours.

STATE OF THE EMPIRE UNDER LEOPOLD.

FORTY-EIGHTH EMPEROR.

It is to be remarked that at first, after the death of Ferdinand III., the empire almost passed out of the house of Austria; but in 1658 the electors imagined themselves obliged to choose Leopold Ignatius, the son of Ferdinand, who was then eighteen years old; but the good of the state, the neighborhood of the Turks, and private jealousies, contributed to the election of a prince whose house was sufficiently powerful to support, but not to enslave, the German Empire. They had formerly elected Rudolph of Hapsburg because he had scarcely any territories. The empire was continued to his posterity, because they had a great deal.

The Turks, still masters of Buda; the French, possessors of Alsace; the Swedes, of Pomerania and Bremen, made this election necessary; so natural is the idea of equilibrium amongst all men.

Besides, it was in Leopold's favor that there had been ten emperors successively of the same house; so many pleas are generally attended to when the public liberty is not thought to be in danger. It is thus that the elective throne of Poland has continued always hereditary in the Jagellon family.

Italy could not be an object for the ministry of Leopold; there was no longer any need of seeking a crown at Rome, and still less of exerting the Aus-

trian claims as lord paramount over Naples and Milan. But France, Sweden, and Turkey, employed the Germans all this reign, these three powers, one after another, being either limited, repulsed, or vanquished, without Leopold's drawing his sword. This prince, the least warlike of his time, always attacked Louis XIV. when France was in the most flourishing condition; at first, after the invasion of Holland, when he furnished the United Provinces with an assistance which he had not extended to his own house at the invasion of Flanders; and some years after, at the Peace of Nimeguen, when he made that famous League of Augsburg against Louis XIV., and at last at the time when, in the most astonishing manner, the king of France's grandson was raised to the Spanish throne.

Leopold, in all these wars, knew how to interest the Germanic body, and to make them declare them to be wars of the empire. The first was unfortunate enough, and the emperor received law from the Treaty of Nimeguen. The interior parts of Germany were not ravaged by these wars, as they had been by the war which lasted thirty years; but the frontiers, on the side of the Rhine, were damaged. Louis XIV. had always the superiority; nor could it well happen otherwise. Able ministers, experienced generals, a kingdom everywhere united, places well fortified, armies well disciplined, and a formidable artillery, as well as excellent engineers, must necessarily have the better of a country where these

advantages are wanting. It is astonishing that France did not succeed better against armies levied in haste, often ill-paid, and equipped still worse, the leaders of which were princes who seldom agreed, and who had different interests to pursue. France in this war, which was ended by the Treaty of Nimeguen, owed its superiority to the excellence of its government beyond that of Germany, Spain, and the United Provinces, which were but badly united.

Fortune was less unequal in the second war produced by the League of Augsburg. Louis XIV. had then against him England, joined to Germany and Spain. The duke of Savoy was in the league; and Sweden, that had been so long the ally of France, abandoned her, furnishing troops against her in quality of a member of the empire. Notwithstanding there were so many allies, they could scarcely do more than defend the empire; nor could they, at the Peace of Ryswick, with all their power, force Strasburg from Louis XIV.

The third war was indeed more prosperous to Leopold and Germany; yet at this time the king of France was more powerful than ever. He governed Spain in the name of his grandson, and had under him the Spanish Low Countries and Bavaria; besides which, his armies were in the midst of Italy and Germany. The memorable battle of Höchstädt gave things an entirely new face. Leopold died in the following year, 1705, convinced that France

would soon be crushed, and Alsace reunited to Germany. The grandeur of Louis XIV. was of the greatest service to Leopold during his whole reign. This grandeur made him so vain, ostentatious, and haughty that he irritated rather than intimidated all his neighbors, more especially the English.

It is commonly believed that he had universal monarchy; but even if Leopold had inherited the Spanish succession (which seemed for some time extremely likely), despite the fact that he was then absolute master of Hungary, whose boundaries were very extensive, and notwithstanding he was very powerful in Germany, possessed Spain, and the absolute dominion of one-half of Italy, and was as well sovereign of the best part of the new world, and thus able to support the rights and pretensions of the empire, this would probably have been his nearest approach to universal monarchy. They affected to fear this in Louis XIV., because, after the Peace of Nimeguen, he seemed inclined to make the three bishoprics depend on him for certain lands which they hold of the empire; and yet they did not fear it in Leopold or his issue, who were near to reigning over Germany, Spain, and Italy.

Louis XIV., in irritating his neighbors, did infinitely more service to the house of Austria than he could possibly have done harm to it by his power.

HUNGARY AND THE TURKS DURING
THE TIME OF LEOPOLD.

Leopold never risked anything in the wars which he waged from his closet against Louis XIV. Germany and its allies bore all the burden, and defended his hereditary dominions; while, on the side of Hungary and the Turks, there was nothing to be expected but trouble and danger. The Hungarians were only the remains of a once numerous nation, that survived the destruction of civil war, or the sabre of the Ottomans. They, sword in hand, tilled the soil which was still wet with the blood of their ancestors. The lords of these unhappy cantons endeavored, at one and the same time, to defend their privileges against the authority of their king, and their liberty against the Turk, who, whilst he protected, destroyed the country. The Turks acted in Hungary exactly as the French and Swedes had done in Germany; but the Turks were more dangerous, and the Hungarians more unfortunate than the Germans.

One hundred thousand Turks march, in 1663, toward Neuhausel. It is true that they were vanquished, the year after, near St. Gotthard, on the Raab, by the famous Montecuculi. This victory is much boasted of, but was certainly far from being decisive. What was the consequence of this victory, but a shameful treaty, by which Transylvania, and

all the territory of Neuhäusel is yielded to the Turks, who raze to the ground the fortifications of the neighboring citadels? The Turks give Transylvania to Abassi, or rather settle him in it, and still devastate Hungary, notwithstanding the treaty.

Leopold at that time had no child but the archduchess, who was afterward electress of Bavaria; and the Hungarian lords have some thoughts of choosing a king of their own nation, should Leopold die. Their projects, their steadiness in supporting their rights, and their conspiracies, cost Serini, Frangipani, Nadasti, and Tattenback, their heads.

The Imperialists seize on the castles of all who had befriended these unfortunate men. The great dignities of palatine of Hungary, judge of that kingdom, and of the ban of Croatia, are suppressed, and the form of justice gives countenance to rapine. This excess of severity drives them at first into consternation, afterward into despair. Emerick Tekeli puts himself at the head of the malcontents, and all Upper Austria is in a flame.

Tekeli treats with the Porte, at which time the court of Vienna soothes the malcontents of Hungary. She re-establishes the office of palatine, confirms the privileges for which they had fought, and promises to restore the estates that had been confiscated; but this condescension, after so much severity, wears the appearance of a snare. Tekeli believes there is more to be got by adhering to the Turkish than to the imperial court. He is made

prince of Hungary by the Turks, on condition of paying a tribute of forty thousand sequins. In the year 1682, Tekeli, assisted by some troops under the command of the pasha of Buda, ravages Silesia; and the pasha takes Tokai and Eperies, whilst the sultan, Mahomet IV., prepares the most formidable armament that the Ottoman Empire had ever made against the Christians.

We do not see how the emperor could have opposed the Turks, had they taken this step before the Treaty of Nimeguen; seeing after that his resistance was not very great.

The grand vizier, Kara Mustapha, traverses Hungary with above two hundred and fifty thousand foot, thirty thousand spahis, with baggage and artillery in proportion to so great a multitude. He drives Charles V., duke of Lorraine, everywhere before him, and lays siege to Vienna, unresisted.

SIEGE OF VIENNA IN 1683; TOGETHER WITH ITS CONSEQUENCES.

This siege of Vienna ought to demand the attention of posterity. This town had been in some measure the capital of the Roman Empire, and the residence of ten emperors of the house of Austria successively; yet it was neither strong nor large. Had this capital been taken, no place between it and the Rhine could have held out. Vienna and its sub-

urbs contained about one hundred thousand citizens; two-thirds of whom, at least, inhabited the suburbs, which were entirely defenceless. Kara Mustapha advanced upon the right of the Danube, followed by three hundred and thirty thousand men, including all that attended this formidable expedition. It is pretended that it was the grand vizier's design to take Vienna for himself, and make it the capital of a new kingdom, independent of his master. Tekeli, with the Hungarian malcontents, marched on the other side of the river Danube. The whole kingdom of Hungary was lost, and Vienna threatened on every side. Duke Charles of Lorraine had not above twenty-four thousand fighting men to oppose the Turks, who hasten their march. A slight combat ensues at Petronella, not far from Vienna, which serves only to diminish the prince's already weak army.

On July 7, the emperor Leopold; the empress, his mother-in-law; the empress, his wife; the archdukes, the archduchesses, and all their household, quit Vienna, and retire to Linz. Two-thirds of the inhabitants follow the court in despair. There is nothing to be seen but fugitives, equipages, and carriages laden with movables; which last fall into the hands of the Tartars. The retreat of the emperor to Linz brings with it only terror and confusion. The court does not think itself safe there. It flies from Linz to Passau. The consternation at Vienna increases. The suburbs are burned, with all the

houses of pleasure; the body of the town is hastily fortified and supplied with ammunition and warlike stores. They were not at all prepared when the Turks opened the trenches; which they did on July 17, in the suburb of St. Ulric, fifty paces from the counterscarp.

The count of Starhemberg, governor of the town, had seventeen thousand men in garrison, of whom there were not above eight thousand effective. Such of the citizens as remained in Vienna, and even the students of the university, were armed. The professors and scholars mounted guard, and their major was a physician.

To complete the misfortune, they are in want of money, and find the raising of one hundred thousand rix-dollars very difficult.

The duke of Lorraine had vainly endeavored to preserve a correspondence between the town and his little army; but all he was able to do was to cover the emperor's retreat. He was obliged to repass the Danube on bridges thrown over it for that purpose, and was far north of the town, while the Turks surrounding it pushed their trenches in open day. He makes head against Tekeli's Hungarians, and protects Moravia; but Moravia as well as Vienna seems near falling into the hands of the Turks.

The emperor presses the assistance of Bavaria, Saxony and the circles; but above all of John Sobieski, king of Poland, who had been long the terror of the Turks, while general of the crown, and who

owed his throne to his victories. Yet this assistance could not possibly arrive in a little time.

By the month of September they had made a breach in the body of the place six fathoms wide, and it seemed to be absolutely left without any hopes of resource. It might have fallen into the power of the Turks more easily than Constantinople had done, but the siege was not conducted by a Mahomet II. The sluggishness and inactivity of the grand vizier, but above all his contempt for the Christians, prevented the siege being carried on with spirit.

The space of ground taken up by his tents was equal to that of the besieged town. He had baths, gardens, and fountains, and in the midst of the progress of ruin wanted in excess of luxury.

John Sobieski at length passes the Danube, some leagues above Vienna, and the troops of Saxony, Bavaria, and other allies having also arrived, they make a signal to the besieged from the top of the mountain of Kahlenberg, at a time that everything began to fail them but their courage.

The imperial and Polish armies descend from Mount Kahlenberg, of which the grand vizier had forgotten to possess himself, extending themselves in the form of an amphitheatre. The king of Poland led the right wing, at the head of twelve thousand horse and four thousand foot, or thereabouts. Prince Alexander, his son, was very near him. The infantry of the emperor and the elector of Saxony, were in the left wing. Duke Charles of Lorraine

commanded the Imperialists. The troops of Bavaria amounted to ten thousand men, and those of Saxony to nearly the same number.

Never were there seen in any battle greater princes than in this. The elector of Saxony, John George III., was at the head of his Saxons; but the Bavarians were not headed by the elector Maximilian Emanuel. This young prince chose rather to serve near the duke of Lorraine as a volunteer. He had received from the emperor a sword enriched with diamonds, and when Leopold returned to Vienna, after its deliverance, the young prince, saluting him with this very sword, showed him what a noble use he made of his present. He was the same elector who was afterward put under the ban of the empire.

The imperial cavalry was led by the prince of Saxe-Lauenburg, sprung from the ancient but unhappy house of Ascania. The infantry was commanded by Prince Herman of Baden, and the troops of Franconia, to the amount of seven thousand, under the conduct of Prince Waldeck.

Among the volunteers of this army were three princes of the house of Anhalt, two of Hanover, three of Saxony, two of Neuburg, two of Holstein, a prince of Hesse-Cassel, one of Hohenzollern, and two of the house of Würtemberg; while a third distinguished himself within the town. The emperor only was absent.

This army amounted to sixty-four thousand men, that of the grand vizier to double the number. So

that this battle may be reckoned among those which show that the smaller number has generally the better of the greater because, perhaps, there is too much confusion in large armies, and more order in the smaller.

On September 12 Vienna was delivered; and this battle, if it can be called one, was fought. The grand vizier left twenty thousand men in the trenches, and ordered the place to be assaulted, while he marched against the Christian army. This last assault might have succeeded, as the besieged began to want powder, and most of the cannon were dismounted; but the sight of assistance gave them new strength.

In the meantime the king of Poland, having harangued his troops from rank to rank, marched at the head of one wing against the Ottoman army, the duke of Lorraine at the head of the other. Never was battle less bloody or more decisive. Two posts taken from the Turks determined the victory. The Christians did not lose above two hundred men; the Ottomans lost scarcely a thousand. This was at the close of day, and fear spread itself with the night into the vizier's camp, who retired precipitately with his whole army. So prodigious was the terror and stupidity arising from their long security that they abandoned their tents and baggage; leaving behind them even Mahomet's great standard. Nothing can equal the vizier's error in this battle, except that of leaving him unpursued.

The king of Poland sent Mahomet's standard to

the pope. The Germans and the Polanders were considerably enriched by the Turkish spoils. The king of Poland wrote to his wife, who was a French woman, daughter of the marquis d'Arquien, that the grand vizier had made him his heir, and that he had found in his tent to the value of several millions of ducats.

That letter is well known, in which he says: "You cannot address me as the wives of the Tartars do their husbands, when they see them come home empty-handed, 'you are not a man, since you return without booty.'"

The day following, being September 13, King John Sobieski causes the "*Te Deum*" to be sung in the cathedral of Vienna, and officiates in it himself. This ceremony was followed by a sermon, the preacher of which took for his text these words: "There was a man sent by God, and his name was John." The whole town thronged to return thanks to this king, and to kiss the hands of their deliverer; as he relates himself. The emperor arrives there on the following day, amidst acclamations which were not for him. He visits the king of Poland outside the walls, and there is great difficulty in conducting ceremonies, at a time when acknowledgment ought to have got the better of formality.

The glory and the happiness of John Sobieski was almost eclipsed by a disaster which was scarcely to be expected, after so easy a victory. Being about to subdue Hungary, he intended to march through

Gran, now Strigonia, in which progress he was to pass by Barcam, where was lodged a considerable body of troops under the command of a pasha. The king of Poland, without staying for the duke of Lorraine, who followed him, advanced near the place with his gendarmes. Here the Turks fell upon the Polish troops, charged them in the flank, slaying two thousand of them. The vanquisher of the Ottomans is obliged to fly. He is pursued and with difficulty escapes, leaving his cloak in the hands of a Turk, who had overtaken him. Duke Charles of Lorraine at length comes to his assistance, and, to the glory of having seconded John Sobieski, king of Poland, at the deliverance of Vienna, he joins that of delivering Sobieski himself.

Hungary, on each side of the Danube as far as Strigonia, soon falls again into the hands of the emperor. Strigonia is taken. It had belonged to the Turks nearly five hundred and fifty years. They twice attempt the siege of Buda, and carry the place by assault in 1686. This was but the consequence of a train of victories.

The duke of Lorraine and the elector of Bavaria defeat the Ottomans in those very plains of Mohács, where Louis II., king of Hungary, had perished in 1526, while Solyman II., conqueror of the Christians, covered the plains with twenty-five thousand dead.

Divisions and seditions at Constantinople, with the revolts of the Turkish armies, fought also in behalf of the quiet and happy Leopold. The insurrection of

the janissaries, the deposing of the weak Mahomet IV., Solyman III. advanced to the throne from a prison in which he had been forty years confined, and the Ottoman troops ill paid, disheartened, and flying before a small number of Germans, were all occurrences favoring Leopold. A warlike emperor, seconded by the victorious troops of Poland, might now have advanced to the siege of Constantinople, after having been upon the point of losing Vienna.

Leopold judged it better to avenge the fear, into which the Turks had thrown him, upon Hungary. His ministers pretend that it would be impossible to confine the Turkish insolence within bounds unless Hungary was reunited under an absolute dominion. Yet they repelled the Turks from Vienna, with the troops of Saxony, Bavaria, and Lorraine, and other German princes, who are under no despotic yoke; particularly with the Polish allies. The Hungarians might then serve the emperor as the Germans did, by remaining free like them; but there were too many factions in Hungary. The Turks were not the men to make the treaties of Westphalia in favor of this kingdom, and if they were not now in a condition to oppress the Hungarians, neither could they assist them.

The only congress between the Hungarian malcontents and the emperor is a scaffold. It is erected in the marketplace of Eperies, in the month of March, 1687, and kept standing till the end of the year.

If some of the contemporary historians are to be believed, the executioners were weary of sacrificing the victims that were, without much distinction, delivered up to them. Antiquity cannot match a massacre so long and so terrible. There have been equal severities, but none of such continuance. Humanity does not shudder at the numbers that fall in battle; it is common; they die sword in hand, and are avenged; but that for nine long months people should see their countrymen dragged, as it were, legally, to open butchery, must be shocking to human nature, and so barbarous a sight as to fill the soul with horror.

That which is more terrible for the people is, that these cruelties sometimes succeed, and the success of them encourages tyrants to use men like wild beasts.

Hungary was subdued, the Turks twice repulsed, Transylvania conquered, and in the hands of the imperialists. At length, while the scaffold is still standing at Eperies, the principal Hungarian nobility are summoned to Vienna, where, in the name of the whole people, they declare the crown of that kingdom hereditary. The states afterward assemble at Presburg, where they confirm the decree, and Joseph is crowned hereditary king of Hungary at nine years of age.

Leopold was at this time the most powerful emperor since Charles V. Many happy circumstances concurred to enable him to continue the war against France till the Treaty of Ryswick, and

against Turkey till the Peace of Carlowitz, concluded in 1699. Both of these were of advantage to him. He treated with Louis XIV. at Ryswick on the footing of an equal, which could not have been expected after the Peace of Nimeguen, and he negotiated with the Turks as a conqueror. These successes gave Leopold a manifest superiority in the diets of Germany, which, though it did not take away the liberty of votes, made them dependent on the emperor.

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